for her own industry the Russian custom frontier gave her insufficient protection; on the contrary, it rather reserved the Ukrainian market to Moscow and Warsaw. 369 241

Consequently the industrial development of the Ukraine was very slow. The agricultural population did not find enough work in the towns, and, as a result, the surplus of agrarian population increased every year. In some parts of the Ukraine this surplus population was more serious than in any other part of former Russia. In the central Ukrainian provinces the agrarian population reached 800 to 1,000 inhabitants per 1,000 hektares of arable land, while in France and Germany the average was about 500 inhabitants. There was nothing left for the Ukrainian population but to emigrate and colonize the lands of Siberia and of Central Asia. There was also a rather considerable movement of emigration towards America. The most fertile governments of the Ukraine furnished many more emigrants than the less fertile but more industrial regions of central Russia. 369 241 162 [167]

Emigration as a Possible Solution

As a consolation, it is pointed out that, in case of the reunion of the Ukraine with Russia, the Ukraine will have in Siberia a field for emigration all ready. But that is very poor consolation. Can emigration satisfy any country? Are the Italians proud of sending many emigrants to America? Did the Germans have cause to feel flattered by increasing the trans-Atlantic emigration, before they developed their own industries? 000

Why, then, should it be the lot of the Ukraine to let her population emigrate to distant Siberia?

Why can she not develop her economic life in such a manner that all her people shall have work on their own soil? The Ukraine ought not to remain an outlet for the industrial work of the Russians and Poles when her own people cannot find any work at home.

But one might ask why no complaint has been heard up to the present, either from the Ukrainians engaged in industry or from those engaged in agriculture? Why did

ween Novokhopersk and Rostov and that extending from Rostov to Otomanivsk. 101 131

It is only in the western section that the frontier runs between the purely Ukrainian area in west Sub-Caucasia (Kuban area) and the Don area; eastern Sub-Caucasia is a mixed belt of Ukrainians and Russians. In the south-east, therefore, we must speak of two frontiers of Ukrainian territory, a narrower and a wider one. The former separates Ukrainian Transcaucasia from the eastern part of Transcaucasia that is partly Russian, while the latter also includes eastern Sub-Caucasia. Throughout its course, the south-eastern frontier is blurred and by no means fixed, as the process of colonisation is still going on.

c) Boundaries and Territories of the three Historical Ukrainian States:

The Kyiv state stretched in the 11th and 12th centuries from the Wyslok to the Donets and included areas which were not colonised and others whose inhabitants were not Ukrainians. It embraced almost 1153 846 square miles, almost 1/6 of which was constantly inhabited by Ukrainians. 131 175

The second Ukrainian state (the realm of the Cossacks) had an area of about 115 384 square miles, western Ukraine was not included within its boundaries.

The third Ukrainian state covered the entire area settled by the Ukrainian people, with the exception of the Don area and Sub-Caucasia. Without annexations (which were of brief duration), the third state covered about 242 308 square miles, with the Crimean Peninsula, a part of the Voronesh district, Carpathian Ukraine and Bucovina 265 384 square miles, i. e. less than the entire Ukrainian ethnographical territory (276 269 sq. miles) and much less than the entire territory originally settled by Ukrainians (357 885 sq. miles).

d) Size of the Ukrainian territory

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Up to World War I 29 039 sq. miles of the Ukrainian territory belonged to Austria-Hungary and the remainder to Russia. After the end of World War I and a short period of inde- 162 175

131 pendence in the years 1917—1920, Ukraine was distributed among the following countries:

162 175

Ukraine Territory	Area	Population on 1. 1. 1939 (in millions)
to USSR	216 846 sq.m.	37.3
to Poland	46 932 sq.m.	9.7
to Roumania	6 769 sq.m.	1.4
to Czechoslovakia	5 730 sq.m.	0.8

A separate Ukraine Soviet Republic was formed within the USSR (170 423 sqm. with 31.9 million inhabitants). The remaining Ukraine districts in Soviet Russia belonged to the RSFSR, and a tiny piece of Polesya to the Republic of Whi e Ruthenia. At the end of World War II almost the whole Ukrainian territory fell to the Soviet Union. 20 000 km² with more t' an a million inhabitants belongs to Poland, 5 000 km² with 100 00. inhabitants to Slovakia and small minorities to Roumania.

Soviet Ukraine embraces about 261 538 sq.m. with 43 million inhabitants. —

2. Natural Conditions in Ukraine

a) Landscape of Ukraine

133 Ukraine consists of vast plains and plateaus which seldom rise as high as 1000 ft. above sea-level. The monotony of the Ukrainian landscape is akin to that of neighboring countries in Eastern Europe. One can travel for hundreds of miles through a landscape that never changes, for the plateaus differ little from the plains, the transition from the one physical configuration to the other being scarcely perceptible. In the south, the scene is varied by mountains, but these constitute but 1/10 of the entire area of Ukraine.

Passing from south to north, we can distinguish 5 different forms of landscape.

In the south the southern low plain stretches along and includes the plains at the foot of the Carpathian mountains with the valley of the Vistula, the Syan and the Dnister, the Black Sea depression and the plain surrounding the lowlands of

137 Oaks and hornbeams grow plentifully in the zone of transition between forest and the steppe while the pine prefers sandy river valleys. Vegetation in the mountains corresponds to that in western surroundings. The vast mountain pastures deserve special mention. On the coast of the Crimea and the Caucasus we find the buttertree, the cypress, the stone pine, the laurel, opuntias, agaves and other Mediterranean plants.

136 Prevalent animal species vary only slightly from those found in neighboring countries in the west. Worthy of mention are wild-cat, ermine, and bison in the forest region, bear, lynx and wild-cat in the Carpathians. In the Yaila mountains there are vultures. The Caucasus has the greatest variety of animals. It is still possible there to hunt ibex, jackals and ure-ox. On the southern slopes there are even panthers. Numerous rodents live in the steppes. The ure-ox, the beaver and the marmot are dying out.

3. Population.

a) Density

161 In 1939 the average density of the population in Ukraine was 68 persons per sq. kilometer. In the central forest-steppe zone, one of the most thickly populated agrarian areas in Europe, 80—120 people live on a sq. kilometer, between the Syan and Kursk. Northern Ukraine with its lighter soil is much more thinly populated; here the average density amounts to 40—60 persons per sq. kilometer, and in Polesya this figure even falls below 25. The density of the population in Southern Ukraine corresponds roughly to that in the north, though the Donets basin is an isolated area of dense population. The Caucasus foothills, a country with a climate at least as favorable as that of Central Ukraine is only two-thirds as densely populated, as it was colonised late. The mountains are thinly populated.

• 162 The majority of the Ukrainian people live in villages; 29 % 361 live in towns and 10 % in cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants; trade and industry are not intensively developed; we are struck by the many towns that have grown up at the frontiers between the various natural areas; there are 60 bet-

ween the forest steppe and the Kholm forests, among them Lutsk, Rivne, Zhytomyr, Kyiv and Konotip. Akkerman, Odessa, Mykolajiv, Kherson, Sevastopil lie on the sea coast. In all there are 18 towns with more than 100 000 inhabitants (statistics dating from 1939 and for Western Ukraine from 1931).

Kyiv	846 000
Kharkiv	833 000
Odessa	604 000
Dnipropetrovske	500 000
Stalino	462 000
Lviv	316 000
Zaporizha	289 000
Mariupil	222 000
Voroshylivhrad	213 000
Kryvyj Rih	198 000
Taganrih	189 000
Symferopil	143 000
Chernivtsi	111 000
Kerch	104 000

b) Movement of population

Movements in the population of Ukraine have been caused by natural increase and emigration and immigration, these movements being more pronounced than elsewhere in Europe.

Natural Increasein 1927 per 1000	Births	Mortality	Actual Increase
USSR	40.3	17.8	22.5
North Caucasia	42.7	17.1	25.6
Crimea	44.7	18.1	26.6
Galicia	31.8	20.3	11.5
Volynia and Polesya	39.4	17.7	19.4
Carpathian Ukraine	37.4	23.3	16.1

The greatest natural increase is to be found in those parts of Ukraine that are most sparsely populated, while the lowest, determined by low birthrate, is provided by Galicia which is over-populated. Increase in purely Ukrainian elements of the population exceeds the average value for other elements inhabiting the same areas of settlement. There are no data on

best demonstrated by the fact that there are scarcely 100 000 Ukrainians living west of the ethnographical frontier between Ukraine and Poland, while 2.5 million Poles are to be found east of the same line. (All statistics from the end of 1932). 167

The area of the eastern frontier is different; due to pressure from Ukrainian colonisation movements, many Ukrainian "islands" appear on the eastern frontier and occur repeatedly right to the Pacific Coast. Some districts were colonised by Ukrainians and Russians in common, which explains the mixed character of the population of the foothills of the Eastern Caucasus and the Crimea.

If we consider the Ukrainian national territory as a whole, within its narrower and wider boundaries, we find a large percentage of foreigners — 25 % within the narrower and up to 30 % within the wider frontiers —, although Ukrainian territory never goes beyond its ethnographical frontiers and although these national minorities are not concentrated in a few places but are scattered throughout the territory. No other extensive ethnographical unit in Europe has so many national minorities as Ukraine. The history of the Ukrainian territory is to blame for this handicap. It was repeatedly swamped by foreign peoples, the upper classes were robbed of their original nationality and in recent times Ukrainians settled unwillingly and in small numbers in towns. 162 ● 167

Another characteristic of Ukrainian ethnographical territory is the great diversity in the national composition of the rural and urban population. The village is purely Ukrainian, the town mixed, often indeed of alien population. The lack of an independent political status and the reluctance of the Ukrainian peasantry to settle in towns opened the way for immigration from abroad, which in turn, helped to erase the national character of urban life; in addition, there are more Jews in the towns of Ukraine than in those of other European states. Thus the towns in the west of Ukraine are Ukrainian-Jewish-Polish, those on the Right Bank on the other hand are Ukrainian-Jewish-Russian while those on the Left Bank are Ukrainian-Russian. The following table shows the different national composition of

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rural and urban population. Out of every 1000 persons in Ukraine there are

	Ukrainians	Russians	Jews	Poles	Germans	Others
Town population	388	281	216	69	8	38
Rural population	767	121	18	50	14	30

The Ukrainians are unequally distributed over their ethnographical area. That part of Ukraine that was longest settled and that is most centrally situated is ethnographically purely Ukrainian, the national minorities amounting to less than 10 % of the population. This central area is a quadrangle with unequal sides, reaching in the west to the line Mohyliv-Berdychiv -Kyiv, in the east to Myropil on the line Sumy-Charkiv-Hrishyne, in the north to the White Ruthenian frontier and in the south across the steppe to the line Balta-Pershomajske-Zaporizha-Hrishyne. The Right Bank area is the most exclusively Ukrainian national territory. The population of the wide plains of this area is up to 99 % Ukrainian.

In frontier districts and also in the many mixed areas there is a large percentage of non-Ukrainians. In Galicia, the Kholm district, Podlakhia, Bucovina, Bessarabia, Slobodian Ukraine and in the areas of the Donets and the Kuban, non-Ukrainians amount to 1/3 and more of the population.

In the steppe zone, too, there is a high percentage of national minorities, a result of the rapid colonisation of the steppe at the end of the 18th century. There were not sufficient Ukrainians to colonise the vast steppes, so the gaps were filled up by people of the most varied nationality — Ukrainians and Russians, many Germans as good farmers, and emigrants from the Balkans — Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and Moldavians. National minorities are scattered here and represent 34 % of the population as against 66 % Ukrainians, so that the latter are everywhere in the majority. We find here 14.3 % Russians, 7.1 % Jews, 4.4 % Roumanians, 4.7 % Germans, 1.3 % Greeks, 1.6 % Bulgarians and 1.6 % others. The Ukrainians exceed even the largest group, the Russians, for there are 4 1/2 Ukrainians for every Russian, and in the country even 7½.

Besides Ukrainians, the area that is ethnographically and nationally Ukrainian counts among its population Russians, Jews, Poles, Germans. The Russians, according to statistics for 1. 1. 1933, amount to 8 million and live in Slobodian Ukraine, the Donets Basin (foreign labor immigration), the coastal areas (agricultural colonies) and, alongside of Ukrainians, in the eastern foothills of the Caucasus. Jews — 3 millions — $^2/_3$ of them in towns, live west of the Dnipro (the boundary of their former settlement under the Tsars), and from 2-3 % of the population of Left Bank Ukraine and less than 1 % in Slobodian Ukraine and the Caucasus. Poles numbering 2 800 000 live in districts that were formerly part of Poland, mainly on the "black earth" belt of Galicia and the Kholm district. The other national minorities are insignificant.

If we study the development of national minorities up to the time of enforced collectivisation, we notice that the Ukrainian element in Dnipro-Ukraine was strengthened, while it receded in Western Ukraine under pressure from the Poles. We cannot tell what changes have taken place in the national element of Soviet Ukraine in recent years, as the results of the last census, held in 1939, have not been published. We can only suppose that Ukrainian national substance has suffered severe losses from the enforced collectivisation, the eviction of Ukrainian peasants, famine, and Russian immigration, especially to the towns and the Donets Basin.

d) Ukrainians outside the boundaries of the ethnographical territory

6 millions, i. e. 13.5 % of the Ukrainian people live without its national territory, 700 000 in islands dispersed throughout neighboring western countries, above all in Batshka while others live as emigrants or laborers, especially in Germany and France. In 1933, there were 300 000 in Roumania, 100 000 in Poland, 40 000 in Czechoslovakia, 50 000 in Jugoslavia and 160 000 in other countries of Europe. 3 % of the Ukrainians — 1.3 millions — are scattered throughout the Soviet Union in Europe; the majority of these live in the lower reaches of the Volga (450 000), the middle reaches of the Volga (220 000), in the republic of

The Social Structure of the Ukrainian Community

The social structure of the Ukrainian people was fairly uniform till the Soviets took over the government. According to the census of 1926 which gives an accurate enough picture of pre-Soviet conditions, the majority of the people were engaged in agriculture. On December 17. 1926, 80.6 % of the population were employed in agriculture, 5.4 % in factories, 3.7 % were artisans, 0.5 % were employed in building, 1.9 % on the railway, 2.3 % in business, and 2.6 % in civil service. Te different social classes may be seen from the following table:

	Ukrainians %	Russians %	Jews %
Laborers	54.6	29.2	8.7
Servants	51.7	25.0	16.9
Professions	47.9	15.2	30.4
Farmers working with members of own family	88.6	4.9	1.3
Farmers with hired laborers	75.6	5.7	10.4
Independent peasants	56.7	10.7	26.7
Members of family working at home	89.1	5.2	0.6

The characteristic member of the social structure of the Ukrainian nation was the farmer who cultivated the soil with the help only of his family. The proportion of Ukrainians in the groups of laborers, employees and professions diminished as the salary and social standing of the group in question rose.

The collective system introduced by the First and Second Five Year Plans, made deep alterations in the social structure of the Ukrainian areas. The proportion between rural and urban population changed. According to the last census of 1939 the urban population had risen to 36.2 %, while the rural population had sunk to 63.8 %. In the Donets Basin and the Ukraine Steppe, where industrialisation was intensely developed, the population of the towns in some areas rose by 50 %. While from 1926-1932 towns like Dnipropetrovske increased 62.9%, Za-

● 162 361 porizha 244 %, Kryvyj Rih 156.6 %, Staline 170 %, Konstantynivka 233 %, towns in the Right and Left Bank areas decreased.

The increase in urban population in the Ukraine Soviet Republic is most probably due to foreign immigration. Housing has become worse practically everywhere; it is difficult to imagine that the immigrants can continue to live permanently under such wretched conditions.

474 The rural population was composed almost entirely of members of colkhoses. They possessed almost the entire agricultural land in common, all agricultural machinery and draught animals and much of the other livestock. There remained for personal use only small plots round the cottages, the cottages themselves and a few head of cattle (no horses), pigs and poultry.

474 465 Every member had to work on the soil of the colkhose. His wages were reckoned according to the number of days he had worked and these were calculated according to time and kind of work performed. The amount of grain left after fulfilling obligations to the state and payment for hire of machines and tractors, seed, cattle-breeding expenses, rate of amortisation etc. represented the wages. They were paid in kind and (a smaller proportion) in money. This meant that variations in harvest yield were almost exclusively expressed by what was left for wages. In the first years of the colkhose system, members often received 2-3 kg of grain for a day's work; as their energy was not fully utilised in the colkhose and as the members of the family who were unable to work had also to live from these meager earnings, famine arose in the early thirties in Ukraine, bringing a great increase in the death-rate. Later, wages are said to have been raised but the Soviet statistics do not show whether the wages listed (15 kg and more per day) applied to entire Ukraine or to individual colkhoses. The incomes of the various colkhose members also varied, as administrative jobs were better paid than work in fields and stables, and as several members revealed "propriety instincts" for extending or exploiting their own small share at the expense of the common property.

The proportion of farms managed by individuals decreased to less than 1 % of the entire agricultural area. The men employed at machinery and tractor centers, which seemed to attract all the mechanics required for the colkhose system, formed a privileged class. It depended on them whether an agricultural operation was carried through at the right time. This group was mainly composed of young people and non-Ukrainians. In 1934 some 797 600 were employed on the land and in forests in the Ukraine Soviet Republic. The Soviet officials, not so important numerically as on account of their influence, formed another group of the rural population. Finally, in the country districts there was a fairly large group of teaching and medical staffs and agricultural experts, mostly of Ukrainian peasant origin, as foreigners could not stand life in Ukrainian villages for long. 162 565

Urban population had a large percentage of foreigners, the main social groups being laborers in industry and commerce and the Soviet officials. The number of industrial laborers within the frontiers of the Ukraine Soviet Republic on January 1st, 1936 was 1 308 000. But this figure kept varying constantly, as many of the workers from country districts were not satisfied with conditions of life in the towns and changed jobs frequently or tried to get back home. The Soviet Government fought against these difficulties for years without being able to solve them. This group also included a great number of young people who grew up in post-war conditions. Their nationality varied; about half of the industrial proletariat in Ukraine was of Ukrainian origin. As a rule, material standards were not high. The average wage in 1934 amounted to 166.4 roubles a month, but this figure is not a clear indication of the individual's earning capacity as piece-work was general. In individual cases, where the Stakhanov system (whereby maximum output of labor was achieved) was introduced, higher than average wages were earned. In recent years real wages declined as a result of abolishing the cards which had entitled workmen to certain privileges in buying food and industrial products. Wage earners in Soviet business concerns were similarly situated to those in industrial plants but as the former were less important than the latter in the general scheme of Soviet economy, their develop- 162 369 465 434

ment has been slower and they have not yet reached the same degree of intensity of labor which we found in factories. Jews play a great part in commercial life.

Among the lower categories of civil servants, Ukrainians were in the majority from the beginning, while representatives of foreign nationalities increased in the higher services. The average salary of Soviet officials throws little light on the standard of living in this group of the population because the difference between higher and lower employees is again considerable. Incomes in the lower ranks were very small while the higher officials had a life of ease and could on occasion even afford luxury. Engineers are among the most privileged while teachers and actors are much worse off. The legal status of the Soviet official was entirely insecure; they lived constantly under threat of a "purge" or of being denounced as disturbing the process of Soviet economy. The higher ranks of bureaucrats were here in special danger.

The small group of the professional class (doctors, writers, lawyers), in spite of their freedom, was dependent on the apparatus of the Soviet State. The group of outcasts was most to be pitied, i. e. those who had been expelled by the regime from social intercourse, e. g. merchants, artisans, and priests. After identity cards were introduced and "socially dangerous" persons removed, this group greatly decreased.

Another group, finally, is formed by Ukrainians living outside the frontiers of Ukrainian territory, who as "Kurkuls", "Pests", "Saboteurs" were sent to concentration camps in the North and in Siberia. The "Nationalists" are also included in this group. And the colonisation of remote frontier areas in Soviet Russia required forest laborers, miners and factory workers, who had to help in the coal mines of Siberia and in building up industrial concerns in Central Asia. It is impossible to give statistics for the proportion of Ukrainians in this group, but they cannot be ignored as they will certainly return home and play an important rôle in Ukraine whenever the general situation is altered.

In Ukrainian areas outside of the Soviet Union, conditions resemble those obtaining in Western Europe. The Ukrainian

area in Poland showed the greatest variations, it having an urban population of 19 % in 1931; in the Lviv area of administration this rose to 30 % and sank to 12 % in Volynia. The urban population was composed of the following nationalities: Ukrainians 22.9 %, Poles 36.6 %, Jews 38.3 %. The figures for the rural population, on the other hand, were: Ukrainians 71.4 %, Poles 23 %, Jews 3.8 %, others 1.8 %. 74.9 % were employed in agriculture, 10.2 % in factories and mines, 7.4 % in business and transportation, 7.5 % in other callings. In areas previously belonging to Russia, the number of those engaged in agriculture rose to 80 % and in the administration of Lviv and Stanislaviv it only amounted to 65.5 % and 74.8 % respectively. 162 167

An excess rural population was characteristic of Polish parts of Ukraine, being particularly marked in provinces formerly Austrian. The agricultural area was divided into 52.4 % small holdings (up to 50 ha), 28.8 % large estates and 18.8 % state property. But in reality 84.3 % of the agricultural land was in small holdings as the large estates and the state property mostly consisted of forest land. In Galicia there were crofts (up to 5 ha) which could neither employ nor feed a large family. The medium-sized (5-20 ha) and larger farms (20-50 ha) did not represent even the half of all agricultural enterprises. Ukrainians were practically not represented at all in larger estates, so that the standard of living among the Ukrainian population was very low; the cooperative system which was widely spread, especially in Galicia, did something to raise the average standard.

The Ukrainian urban population was represented mainly by the lower middle-classes. In recent times efforts have been made to improve conditions for Ukrainian businessmen and to build new workshops for individual workers. These efforts soon met with success, in spite of Polish and Jewish competition.

Social conditions were different in Bucovina and Bessarabia. Though land there has been parcelled into tiny holdings and has consequently produced a social situation similar to that in Galicia, the conditions under which the Ukrainian peasant lived in Bessarabia were stable and more favorable. Jews formed a

● 162 167 proportion of the population of the little towns, the Ukrainian intelligentsia being but weakly represented.

The population of those parts of Ukrainian territory that are in Czechoslovakia, is also mostly engaged in agriculture which accounts for 81.8 %, mining industry for 6.4 %, trade and transportation for 2.7 % and other professions for 9.1 %. In the main, Ukrainians live in the country; the less important cities and towns have a very mixed population, in which Ukrainians form the majority in only a few cases. The standards of living and material security are precarious, lower perhaps than in any other part of Ukrainian territory.

National Minorities in Ukraine

162 563 Minorities in Ukraine amount to 20 % in purely Ukrainian territory and to 24.7 % in other parts of the country and are the consequence of long domination by foreigners and the immigration that entailed. The same cause is responsible for increasing Jewish immigration; Jews have always appeared to assist the spread of Russian influence in the East and Polish in the West.

175 167 563 Contemporary minorities rarely date earlier than the second half of the 18th century, if we except a few peripheral areas in the west, the Tatars in Crimea and Russian colonisation in the east in the 17th century. Several earlier efforts made by the Polish Government and individual magnates to colonise the Right Bank region of Ukraine were unsuccessful; the first wave spent itself in the 16th century in the rebellion of Khmelnytskyj, while later colonists were completely absorbed by the native Ukrainian population. The Roman Catholic faith was able to persist only in a few places. A similar fate overtook Roumanian expansion in the 14th and 15th centuries in the Carpathians; it left traces in names and in the legal code of the settlements.

167 563 The Russians form the largest minority. Apart from the common colonisation of the Don area, it was only after the catastrophe at Poltava (1709) that Russians slowly penetrated into Ukraine. More numerous Russian settlers did not arrive till after there was no longer a Hetman (1764) and after the destruction of the Cossack Fortress (1775). At the same time the Turks were driven back from the Black Sea; the Ukrainian population, which had suffered great losses in the struggles with Turks and Tatars, was unable to tackle this job alone. But the Russians, who had been systematically settled, were disinclined to cultivate the steppe and preferred to move into the r ing towns as officials, artisans and laborers.

Ten thousands of German colonists took their place, settled by Catherine II in the former Governments of Kherson, Taurien, and Katerynoslav, later also in Southern Bessarabia. At the same time Emperor Joseph II settled German colonists in

Southern Galicia and Bucovina. Immigrants who were of the same faith as the Ukrainians also arrived at this time from Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Roumania (partly also from Armenia). 167 563

In the eighteen eighties the Russian Peasants' Bank settled tens of thousands of Polish, German and Czech colonists in Volynia. By far the majority of Poles in Galicia and in the Kholm district also settled there as late as the second half of the 19th century, in Volynia and Polessia even in the 20th (in many cases after 1920). Single Polish settlements in the Right Bank region (especially in Podolia) are later in origin. Elsewhere the Polish population has been preserved in the towns only, the workshops and estates belonging to Polish landed proprietors. Even the "most Polish" area of Ukraine, the Markhlevitskyj district in Eastern Volynia, which was formed artificially for political reasons, only had 28 332 Poles, of whom, however, only 10 715 actually spoke Polish. 162 563 167

After the end of the 18th century Eastern Galicia was almost purely Ukrainian; there were Poles only in the towns, in the administration and in connection with big estates. This fact was emphatically recorded by Graf Pergen, an eminent Austrian official, after Galicia was transferred to Austria (1772). The official census reports for 1846 and 1851 still represented the Galician province of the Austrian empire as predominantly Ukrainian; 50.1 % (2 441 771) Ukrainians as compared with 40.9 % (1 994 802) Poles. The statistics for 1857 are: 45.2 % Ukrainians, 42.7 % Poles, 2.5 % Germans and 9.7 % Jews. 162 563

The Polish element has been artificially increased only since 1867, and then only slowly. In taking the census, the actual state of affairs was camouflaged by tricks of statistics; the Jews, for instance, were counted as Poles, thus increasing the number of the latter in the census of 1910 by more than 800 000; another paper trick was played on Roman Catholic Ukrainians, who had mostly been converted in the course of recent years by cunning and force from the Greek Catholic United Faith to Roman (in Poland synonymous with Polish) Catholicism. Although they spoke no Polish and had otherwise the same interests as other Ukrainians, most of them were

● 162 563 listed as Poles, thus increasing the number of the latter by almost half a million.

Every decade more and more united Catholics who were known to be of Ukrainian nationality were entered as Poles. In 1910 there were already 235 328 such "Greek Catholic Poles"; in 1921 there were 359 000 till the number of such Poles amounted to almost half a million. This explains what would otherwise be inexplicable: that the number of Ukrainians should have decreased from 4 880 312 in 1910 to 3873 223 in 1921, i. e. by 1 006 599, while in the same period the number of Poles is alleged to have risen from 15 319 734 (1910) to 18 820 163, i. e. by 3 500 429. As this was not sufficient to justify Poland's existence as a Great Power, the special group of „natives" was introduced, which was put down tentatively in 1921 as 41 000 and then, quite brazenly in 1931 as 707 000 (i. e. 2.2 % of the entire population of Poland, these being mostly Polesian Ukrainians). In addition to these tricks of statistics, a frank campaign of denationalisation was launched after the First World War by Poland with the support of the Roman Catholic Church. The following table shows how things developed:

Year	Greek Catholic	Roman Catholic
1869	64.2 %	21.84 %
1900	62.8 %	23.51 %
1910	61.7 %	25.31 %
1921	60.8 %	27.80 %
1931	60.1 %	28.50 %

This was the origin of the legend that Eastern Galicia was a country of mixed population to which Poland had a right, having contributed her share to the native population.

It is well known that Jews are aliens in Ukraine, and that they only appeared in Galicia in the wake of the Poles. Thanks to Polish support, the number of Jews in Ukraine has been almost doubled; it rose from 6.9 % to 12.8 % (1910).

In spite of political influences, the minorities have never succeeded in settling on areas of any extent. They are more strongly represented on the periphery and it is only in manufacturing towns that we find them in greater numbers living together. Of the 40 422 places in Soviet Ukraine, for

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine KDl

instance 36 569, or 90.1 % were Ukrainian according to the statistics of 1925 and only 1769 or 4.5 % predominantly Russian, 1043 or 2.8 % predominantly German, 407 or 1.0 % predominantly Polish and about 200 predominantly Jewish (0.5 %) and 148 (0.4 %) predominantly Moldavian. 162 563

Circumstances are similar in the so-called „mixed" Eastern Galicia; according to official statistics before World War I there were 3298 village communities, i. e. 88.7 % with a Ukrainian majority and scarcely 436 places (11.6 %) with a majority of Poles or other nationals.

The Russian Minority

Russians form the largest minority on Ukrainian territory. It is true that the Russian population has been slowly decreasing, but probably it still amounts to-day to 5 000 000 i. e. a little less than 10 % of the entire population. According to the calculation of the Ukrainian Bureau for Statistics and Economics for 1933, the Russian minority in Central Ukraine amounted to 4 615 000 = 9.7 % and over the entire territory (including mixed zones) to 8 074 000 = 15 %. The number of Russians has decreased most in Soviet Ukraine, amounting to 2 677 200 or 9.2 % of the entire population in 1926. There are no Russians either in Galicia or Carpatho-Ukraine and in Bucovina less than 3 000. In North-West Ukraine, too, they scarcely ever amount to more than 2 % of the entire population and occur only in scattered groups in the towns of Volynia, Polesya and the Kholm District.

It is surprising that the percentage of Russians should be so low just on the ethnographical frontiers of Russia. These frontier areas of North Ukraine, Volynia, Podolia, and the former departments of Chernyhiv and Poltava are purely Ukrainian with a very small Russian population amounting to between 0.3 % — 1 %. The proportion of Russians in the entire Right Bank population amounts only to 2.6 % (in country districts alone, even to 0.7 % only).

North-West Ukraine and the colonised areas of Northern Caucasia, on the other hand, are mixed regions where Russians and Ukrainians are rivals for supremacy. In the eastern foothills

● 162 of Ukrainian Northern Caucasia the proportion is 57.3 % Russ-
563 ians to 33.4 % Ukrainians; some places, too, in the Donets Basin are to be regarded as areas of Russian colonisation. But even here, in spite of official support, the Russians only count 31.4 % of the entire population and, in the towns, are constantly making way for more Ukrainians so that towns that used to be predominantly Russian had, in 1926 even, no more than 48.9 % Russians.

The proportion of Russians in the population south of Kursk and Voronesh and in the surroundings of Kharkiv is relatively large. It dates from the early 18th century and is supported by the Russian population in Kharkiv (37 %). The average figure for the Russian population of these areas amounts to 22.5 % of the entire population.

In spite of a considerable Russian population in the harbor towns, Ukrainians contribute largely to the population of the area round the Sea of Oziv and the Black Sea. It is true that there are still 663 000 Russians, but they are everywhere in the minority.

Proportion of Russians in Population

Rayon	general (%)	urban (%)	rural (%)
Melitopil	25.0	39.7	24.0
Odessa	23.3	38.1	8.2
Mariupil	18.5	46.7	10.6
Mykolajiv	15.7	39.5	9.9
Kherson	11.4	31.0	7.7
Autonomous Republic of Moldavia	8.5	23.3	6.5

In the industrial districts of the West (Kryvyj Rih, Zaporizha, and Dnipropetrovske), the proportion of Russians scarcely reached the figure for the entire Ukraine — it amounts to 8.9 % (25.1 % in the towns, 5 % in the country).

From the above it is obvious that the Russian population is greatest in large towns and industrial and mining areas. But the statement that the towns in Eastern Ukraine have a Russian majority must not be repeated for it was no longer true even

in the second half of the 19th century. Even in those days the proportion of Ukrainians in the larger towns (with the exception of government capitals) amounted to 40.5 % (compared with 29.2 % Russians and 25.6 % Jews) and in the smaller towns to 52.4 % (compared with 21.8 % Russians and 21.0 % Jews). The total urban population in the Gouvernments of Chernyhiv, Poltava and Kharkiv had then a Ukrainian majority, while the Ukrainians were relatively in the majority in the towns in the Gouvernment of Katerynoslav.

This development has been continued. The census of 1925 produced even more favorable results: in the towns there were then 38.49 % Ukrainians, 29.4 % Jews, 27.22 % Russians, and 2.03 % Poles. 14 towns show a considerable majority of Ukrainians (up to 92.33 %); in 14 more the Ukrainians were relatively the strongest national group. The proportion of Ukrainians in the south also increased astonishingly, as may be seen from the figures for the harbor town of Mykolajiv (1897 = 8.8 %, 1923 = 17.5 % Ukrainians) or for Kherson (1897 = 19.5 %, 1920 = 40.4 %).

Jews

Before World War I there were 3 795 760 Jews, i. e. 8.2 % of the entire population of Ukraine. They were massed in the provinces that used to be Polish and were later Austro-Hungarian and also in the northern districts of the Right Bank Ukraine, in Volynia and Podolia where, at that time, they contributed 12.2—12.6 % of the entire population. There are most Jews in the east of Carpatho-Ukraine (more than 25 %), in the Kholm district (on an average 15.3 %), in the districts of Berdychiv (23.1 %), Odessa (22 %), Chernivtsi (21.4 %), Brest-Litovsk (20.8 %) and Pinsk (19.5 %). On the right bank of the Dnipro the Jewish share in the population was considerably smaller while on the left bank where Jews were forbidden to settle until the great Revolution, it was quite small; with the exception of Kharkiv it varied from 2—3 %.

The Jews lived for preference in the towns; in the country they were scattered as shop-keepers, inn-keepers, tenant farmers and artisans. But there were also a good number of towns where

● 162 563 the Jewish population was insignificant (e. g. Dmytrievsko 0.5 %, Vovchansk 1.1 %, Okhtyrka 1.3 %, Melitopil 3.4 %, Kamenske 4.1 %, Slovanske 4.4 %, Bila Tserkva 5.5 %, Berdiansk 8.1 %). Among the larger towns Stalino had 10.7 %. Kharkiv 19.5 % and Mykolajiv 21 % Jews.

For some time the number of Jews has been decreasing, partly as a result of emigration and partly because of the shifting of the peasant population. At the beginning of World War II there were probably about 2.5 million Jews. The last eight years have brought about a complete change and not even approximate figures can be given.

Poles

Official statistics list the Poles as third of the minorities in Ukraine. In 1914 they were responsible for 2 079 500 souls i. e. 4.5 % of the entire Ukrainian population. Of these 1 270 400 = 21.8 % were in Austrian and more than 809 000 = 2 % in Russian Ukraine (including the Kholm district and Volynia). At the outbreak of World War II there must have been 1 880 934 Poles (= 3.6 % of the entire population) on the Ukrainian ethnographical territory (1 608 900 in Poland, 246 034 in Soviet Ukraine and approximately 25 000 in Roumania). In the areas belonging to Poland they form about 18 % of the entire population and are more concentrated only in Lviv and the larger towns. In the foothills of the Carpathians, south of the Dnister, in spite of the vicinity of the ethnographical frontier, there were relatively few Poles (less than 5 % on the average in the west and less than 10 % in the east). Circumstances in Polessya and Volynia are similar. Nor have the towns in Western Ukraine a majority of Poles; in Lviv about half the population are Poles. In 1931 in all the towns in Eastern Galicia there were 26.9 % Ukrainians, in the administration area of Stanislaviv 33.8 % and in Podlakhia and Polesya 31.2 % and 31.64 respectively. In Eastern Ukraine there were 476 435 = 1.6 % Poles in 1926. They lived scattered only in 12 rayons of the Right Bank Ukraine, in Volynia and Podolia and, with the exception of Zhytomir (12.5 %) and Proskuriv (10.2 %) they accounted for less than 5 % of the entire population. 48.4 % of those

"Poles" listed Ukrainian as their mother-tongue (56.7 % even in the country), while 7 % spoke Russian. 162 563

Germans

The Germans, who cannot be very numerous in Ukraine today, amounted in 1914 to 871 270 souls = 1.9 % of the entire population. They lived mostly in three compact colonies (area round Black Sea, Kholm district, Volynia and Carpathian foothills). By 1935 they had decreased to 693 000 = 1.2 % of the entire population. In the Black Sea area they had an absolute majority in the rayons of Grossliebenthal, K. Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Prishib, Engels, Vysokopolje and Molotshna. Germans were settled in 12 of the 41 rayons of Soviet Ukraine. Most Germans lived in the country; there were communities of several thousand Germans in Odessa, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovske, Zaporizha and Mykolajiv.

Other minorities

The 460 000 Roumanians are to be found chiefly in the Moldavian Republic (0.89 %) where, however, they only constitute 30.1 % of the entire population (compared with 48.5 % Ukrainians). Otherwise Roumanians live in Bucovina and in the Bessarabian areas of Akkerman and Khotin.

The 160 000 Greeks live mostly in Mariupil and Stavropil.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Agriculture

1. Agricultural Features and Overpopulation

● 162 The agricultural overpopulation of Ukraine is a result of its one-sided social and economic structure. In Germany the rural population forms 29 % of the entire population of the country, while the figures for the agrarian countries of Denmark and Hungary are 30 % and 25 % respectively, the corresponding figure for Ukraine being 75 %. The density of the agricultural population in Ukrainian territory amounts to a general average of 54 per ha of agriculturally utilised soil, in the Right Bank Region and in Western Ukraine to 80, and in Galicia to 103. In Denwark, the model agricultural country, the density of the agricultural population is not even 35 and in Bohemia, where agriculture and industry are highly developed, it is only 52. And yields per ha in Ukraine are fairly low: statistics for 1931—35 are as follows (q/ha):

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Country	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Average
Ukraine	8.5	8.8	8.3	9.2	8.7
Roumania	9.6	10.1	10.3	9.7	9.9
Hungary	13.5	11.8	14.1	12.3	12.9
Germany	21.0	17.4	20.1	19.5	19.5

Agricultural overpopulation is particularly noticeable in view of the small share of agricultural land per head of the rural population (not quite 2 ha). Produce is therefore exported at the expense of the standard of living which actually used to be lower in Ukraine than in the European states that imported the produce.

In the years immediately preceding the Second World War yields per ha in Dnipro-Ukraine seemed to have risen

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

and the Middle East have been left in suspense, a territory the size of Europe and new routes into the heart of China and ultimately to the Pacific have been brought under Soviet control. Under these circumstances 'the wheat-fields of the Ukraine' receded again into the background and became of only local importance: the more so since, in the two Soviet 'Economic Plans', interest in South-Eastern Russia has been concentrated on the industrial development of the New Russian region. These conditions are illustrated by the growth of industrial centres like Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Lugansk, Zaporozhie, and the decline of the great grain port of Odessa.

The agricultural wealth of the Ukraine has never in fact justified the enthusiasm which it has inspired from the time of the seventeenth-century Polish poet quoted in an earlier context to the more recent period of Herr Hitler and his apostles of *Lebensraum*. The natural conditions of the Ukraine are such that they really generously reward agricultural labour, but they exact always patient, strenuous and systematic toil.

Natural conditions differ greatly over the expanse of the country which Michael Dragomanov considered to constitute 'Greater Ukraine'. The agricultural 'age' of these territories differs in the extreme. In New Russia agriculture is only a century old, while Galicia has supported a numerous population of husbandmen for nearly a thousand years.

Galicia is one of the oldest agricultural lands of all Europe and conditions there have hardly altered since the days of Daniel and his *boyars*. The Galician earth, black in the eastern part, is tired old soil, impoverished by incessant labour, itself prompted and intensified by the ever-growing care of an ever-growing population to acquire its daily bread. Owing to the density of the population (110, and in some regions 132, inhabitants to the square kilometre) the area of holdings had been reduced to a minimum: 46 per cent of the farms comprise 2 hectares of land and sometimes less; 37 per cent comprise from 2 to 5 hectares. In a countryside where urban life has remained relatively stagnant live 75 per cent of the total population; while all commerce and crafts remain in the hands of the Jews in the large towns and in many of the villages, there is a 50 per cent surplus of hands among agricultural labourers. The peasants, Poles and Ukrainians alike, used to migrate to Germany and France as casual labour; before the last war they emigrated also in large numbers to Canada and the United States.

These arduous conditions of peasant life gradually developed a capacity for organization. Driven by necessity, the Galician peasantry set up a network of co-operatives for production and

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

distribution. These co-operatives formed the basis of a certain national unity which found expression in the political field.

Volhynia, partitioned after the war of 1920 between the Poles and the Soviets, is nearly as old an agricultural country as Galicia. Here the strips of rich black earth alternate with sandy and wooded country. Although density of population is not so great as in Galicia, poverty is perhaps even greater, owing to a lack of that capacity for organization which helps the Galician labourers to survive. The large estates of the Polish nobility have long disappeared; after the last war the Polish Government divided up the land. Numerous strips were allotted to Polish soldiers on the expiration of their service—with the intention of strengthening the Polish ethnic and cultural element in the region. The disappearance of the large estates, as in Transylvania and Roumania, had a deleterious effect on agricultural production and on the proper exploitation of the forests. The majority of the people lead a half-starved existence, and the young men dream of emigration to South America. In 1937, 25 per cent of the population of Polish Volhynia had neither bread nor wood.

Podolia has been a land of cultivation since the Middle Ages, although the soil was broken up two or three hundred years later than in Galicia and Volhynia. Now, as before the period of war and revolution (1914–20), Podolia remains in a close economic relationship to the other parts of the Ukraine. The black earth of this favoured province is really fruitful and well watered by numerous small rivers; climatic conditions are better than anywhere throughout the Ukraine—rain is plentiful and regular and the winters are short. It was probably the fields and pastures, the hillocks and woods of Podolia which the Polish poet had in mind when he wrote lyrically of 'the birthplace of Ceres and Diana'. Horticulture and apiculture have long flourished there.

In the past social conditions varied with the political situation according to whether the small landowners (Ukrainian Cossacks) or the Polish landlords were in the ascendant. During the eighteenth century Polish elements had the upper hand and for some time Podolia remained the last refuge of the Polish aristocracy. Polish social influences survived the Three Partitions, and it was only after the Polish Insurrection of 1830 that conditions began to change in favour of the Russian majority in the population.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century this rich land with its soft climate had become very densely populated. By the end of the century Podolia ranked second in density of population of all the regions of the Russian Empire. The Government of Moscow took

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

162 311 first place, but in its population was included the million inhabitants of the second capital of the Empire, while in Podolia there was no single town which numbered more than fifty thousand inhabitants. Density of population in Podolia reached the figure of 100 to the square kilometre, but the province was saved from the problems of over-population by the development of the large estates on capitalist lines. This process began about 1830 and developed on a large scale after 1870. The beet-sugar industry with its subsidiary alcoholic distilleries, flour mills and horticulture provided a variety of livelihood for a population which by 1897 had attained to nearly four and a half millions. Between the years 1896 and 1933 more than a million and a half peasants migrated from other districts of the Ukraine to Siberia and the steppes beyond the Volga, but in Podolia emigration was scarcely perceptible.

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134 *The southern part of the Government of Kiev* along the right bank of the Dniepr enjoyed conditions somewhat similar to those in Podolia, while the northern districts resembled rather Volhynia. In the south a rich black earth supported a number of large estates where the beet-sugar industry, distilleries and mills flourished. In these southern districts were many well-to-do peasant farms covering up to 20 and 30 hectares apiece. Wheat was grown in sufficient quantities to satisfy local needs and to supply the six hundred thousand inhabitants of the city of Kiev. At the beginning of the century the population of the Government of Kiev amounted to over four and a half millions. At that time the three Governments of right-bank Ukraine (Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia) contained fourteen million inhabitants with an average density of 70–80 people per square kilometre. Such numbers were quite 'European' in their proportions and should have tended to discourage those Western dreamers who were even then casting envious eyes on the 'vacant lands' of the Ukraine.

134 It was almost equally difficult to discover 'vacant lands' in the Governments of *left-bank Ukraine*. In Poltava, Chernigov and Kharkov the density of population amounted to 60–70 people per square kilometre. The uninterrupted belt of black earth in the Governments of Poltava and Chernigov had been under the plough only since the seventeenth century—and many parts of it not before the eighteenth century. This was the land of which Alexey Tolstoy wrote: 'Know ye the land where all breathes plenty and content, where rivers flow as silver clear.' There were scarcely any towns of importance in this rural elysium. The characteristics of the Government of Kharkov, on the other hand, were quite distinct from those of the two adjoining left-bank provinces: in the north-west,

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Kharkov, in its scenery and social conditions, resembles rather the neighbouring districts of the Government of Kursk, while in the south-east it is already really part of New Russia.

Climatic conditions on the left bank are rather less favourable than on the right bank of the Dniepr: there is a lighter rainfall which is not so evenly distributed; the winters are more severe and the region of Kharkov endures a distinctly 'continental' climate. Prince Shcherbatov, a former minister of the Imperial Government, writes that: 'One of the most important factors in agriculture is rainfall, which does not always occur under favourable conditions in the Ukraine. Most of the rain comes in summer and often takes the form of downpours which impede work in the fields and harvesting; and in the spring there is often not enough rain. Rainfall is better distributed on the right bank of the Dniepr than in other parts. The difficult climatic conditions in the Ukraine liken the average black earth harvests to average harvests in Central Europe on an average soil.'

During the nineteenth century conditions in left-bank Ukraine tended to favour the growth of a prosperous class of small farmers who supplanted the big landowners of the period of Peter I and Catherine II. These conditions derived from the shortage of labour on big estates which followed the opening up of the New Russian territories and from the wave of speculation which induced landowners to sell out their properties on the left bank of the Dniepr in order to participate in 'the rush' for the new lands. Left-bank Ukraine became a country of large peasant farms covering 10, 20, 30 and as much as 50 hectares, while a number of smaller 'working' landowners retained estates up to 100, 150 and 200 hectares. Land was worth in these parts 500 rubles (about £50 sterling on the pre-war exchange) a hectare.

At the same time the growth of these large farms in the Governments of left-bank Ukraine combined with a natural increase in the population to create a serious problem of 'over-crowding'. In the eighteenth century a numerous class of peasantry had existed who did not own any land of their own at all, but who merely possessed cottages and vegetable gardens and the right to graze their stock on common pasture lands. Following the Emancipation of the Serfs in 1861, the number of landless peasants showed a rapid increase. The small parcels of land allotted to the liberated serfs were soon redistributed between the thrifty and the shiftless; and the division of large estates did not contribute to the establishment of agricultural industries which might have provided a living for the less fortunate. Already in the eighties symptoms of over-population were noticeable

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different: 51 per cent and 49 per cent.' It is necessary to add that Sadovsky includes in production intended 'for general use' in both periods the output of agricultural industry: i.e. sugar, spirits, flour and sunflower oil. If these figures for rural industry are excluded, those for so-called 'light industry' remain practically negligible. For example, only 3 per cent of the textiles manufactured in U.S.S.R. are derived from the Ukraine; and there is no manufacture of cloth or leather goods.

As Sadovsky justly remarks, the policy of exclusively encouraging heavy industry has resulted in the neglect of the economic interests of the western and central Ukraine. In effect, with the policy of industrializing eastern and south-eastern Ukraine, the Soviets have shown a tendency to de-industrialize the wide and rich western provinces. Here the basis of their policy is probably strategic as well as political. 'In a series of towns of right-bank Ukraine such as Zhitomir, Berdichev, Zhmerinka, Mohilev-Podolsk, Uman, Smela, signs of decadence can be observed during the period of the Five Year Plans.'

The 'Economic Plans' of the Soviet Government are subordinated to a general political policy which, as has been explained in the preceding chapter, aims at the complete fusion of the Soviet Ukraine with the rest of U.S.S.R.; and according to Communist theory political unity can only be based on economic fusion. In forcing the pace of the development of heavy industry in the south and south-east to the detriment of the light and agricultural industries of the rest of the country, the Moscow Government pursues two objectives. First, the importance of the Ukrainian national element in the Ukraine is reduced. 'The Ukrainian people are an old people of agricultural civilization and have never shown any inclination for industrial work and life in big towns. The Ukrainian prefers the country if he can earn his living there, and if it is necessary he finds work in the different branches of rural industry' (Brégy and Obolensky). According to official Soviet statistics on the nationality of workers in the Ukraine, the coal industry employs 75 per cent Russians and 25 per cent Ukrainians; the metallurgical, 73 per cent and 22 per cent respectively; the building trades 56 per cent and 37 per cent (*The National Policy of the Russian Communist Party Expressed in Figures*, p. 177). About 50 per cent only of the people in the Donets region are Ukrainians, and among the urban population of the whole of Soviet Ukraine 70 per cent are not Ukrainians. In two big towns like Odessa and Kharkov only 25 per cent of the inhabitants are Ukrainians. The same phenomenon can be observed in centres like Mariupol and Lugansk. In this wise the

CHAPTER FIVE

Ukrainization

The period of the New Economic Policy was likewise the 186
time when the movement for the Ukrainization of the state reached its highest point. This was a complicated political, cultural and scholarly movement which aimed to develop the Ukrainian self-consciousness in every possible way and to establish the proper role of the Ukrainian language and culture in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It took many and diverse forms, and while it developed into a definite opposition to Russian influence and Russian methods, it was not primarily so much an anti-Communist as an extra-Communist movement, even though most of its outstanding leaders were tried and tested members of the party.

The basis for the entire movement is to be found in the slight attraction that Communism as a doctrine possessed for the Ukrainian [665]
people. As late as 1927 there were only 122,928 Ukrainian Com- [162]
munists, that is, about thirty-nine for each ten thousand of the
Ukrainian population. The bulk of the Communists in Ukraine were Russian and the vast majority of these belonged to the urban proletariat or to the workers in the Donets Basin and Kryvy Rih.

The general period of disintegration during the civil war and [369]
the period of Militant Communism had greatly strengthened the power and self-confidence of the peasants and had weakened the power of the city workmen. This showed Lenin and the dominant group that some method had to be found to win at least the passive support of the countryside if new troubles were to be averted.

The Bolsheviks were well aware of the tenacity with which the 186
Ukrainian peasants, whether they were literate or illiterate, clung 191
to their native language. Lenin had used this characteristic with 665

simply Russians was constantly increased. It was almost forbidden 626
to mention the name Ukrainian in connection with the older settlers 186
in Kuban, along the Don, in the Green Wedge along the Amur, etc. [191]
and it was a matter of perplexity as to what language they could be said to speak or what dialect in connection with later studies of the dialects of the Russian language. It was inadmissible to regard them as speaking a peasant dialect in view of the attitude of the authorities in recognizing some sort of Ukrainian, but it was even worse to believe that Ukrainian could exist in those regions and so they were simply passed over and forgotten, while the newcomers, usually being under some kind of a ban, were simply treated as Russian deportees.

Even this was not the whole story, for in such cities as Vinnytsya 661
during these same years the population was slaughtered by the thousands and buried secretly in carefully hidden burial places which were then turned into parks and playgrounds to conceal the extent of the crimes. This was repeated in many places but the situation in Vinnytsya attracted especial attention because during the War, the Germans found the places of burial and revealed the thousands of bodies of the victims, many of whom had been buried alive. The extent of these massacres was as great as was the killing of the Polish officers in Katyn, which was likewise brought to light during the war.

By the time the census of 1939 was taken and this was the last 162
one published, the growth of the number of Russians and the diminution of Ukrainians showed clearly that there was a large scale transfer of nationality which completely reversed the figures in some sections of Asia without regard for the natural laws of reproduction and mortality.

In this atmosphere the nature of the intellectual and literary 626
work in the UkSSR can well be imagined. The Ukrainian scholars 814
were forced to accept the full Russian theories of the Ukrainian 661
past. This led to a complete revaluation of all the "outstanding figures." In 1933 the career of Bohdan Khmelnytsky was condemned on the ground that he was a typical representative of the noble classes. By the outbreak of World War II he became a Rus-

1 [1936-1938 -- Analyst]

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

separation. The Poles were Latin Catholics, while the Ukrainians, though also in obedience to the Pope, were nearly all of the Greek (i.e., Byzantine-Slavonic) rite. Consequently, it is not surprising that the ranks of the clergy provided a large proportion of the awakeners of Galician Ukrainian national feeling. Most prominent of such priests was Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyts'kyi. He was the scion of a family which was counted among the Polish nobility, but he felt himself to be Ukrainian; his career embraced almost the entire span of Ukrainian nationalist activity, from the turn of the century to the close of the period covered in this study.[13]

The reasons why a Ukrainian nationalist movement arose within the Russian Empire are not so obvious. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the great bulk of prominent men of Ukrainian ethnic origin appear to have been Russified in culture and feeling, even if they occasionally gave signs of remembering that there were different cultural elements in their family backgrounds.[14] That the Russian Empire could have carried out such a large-scale assimilation is a tribute to the degree to which it was supranational, avoiding the narrower concepts of ethnocentrism. Although a strong current had set in since the sixties, when N. T. Danilevskii's *Rossiia i Evropa* (Russia and Europe) heralded the advent of Pan-Slavism based on ethnic Russian hegemony, for many, especially for officials in the governing bureaucracy, the rule of the tsars remained an expression of the ecumenical tradition of empire, a "Third Rome," but one which

[13] See Stepan (Stephen) Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyts'kyi) (Munich: Vernyhora, Ukraïns'ke Vydavnyche Tovarystvo, 1947), and Il'ko Borschak (Elie Borschak—this author is better known by the French form of his name), *Un Prèlat Ukrainien: Le Metropolite Cheptyckyj (1865–1944)* (Paris: Editions Franco-Ukrainiennes, 1946). The fact that the parish priests of the Greek Catholic rite were allowed to marry meant that their nationalist feeling could be passed on from generation to generation, a factor of considerable significance in providing a continuing body of bearers of the "national ideal."

[14] Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution.*

Two of the best Ukrainian sources for the period are Izaac Mazepa, *Ukraïna v ohni i buri revoliutsiï, 1917–1921* (The Ukraine in the Fire and Storm of the Revolution, 1917–21), 3 vols. (Munich: Prometei, 1950–51), and Volodymyr Vynnychenko, *Vidrodzhennia natsiï: Istoriia ukraïns'koï revoliutsiï, marets', 1917 r.—hruden', 1919 r.* (The Rebirth of a Nation: A History of the Ukrainian Revolution, March, 1917–December, 1919), 3 vols. (Vienna, 1920).

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

668* It is uncertain just why Mariupol' was so different from the Donbas as a whole in the extent of nationalist activity. Very likely, as was so frequently the case, the presence of a few strongly nationalist and yet temperate and resourceful men was sufficient to turn the balance in a situation in which the vast majority was neither able nor willing to engage in political activity. Of course, the city was also under the comparatively lenient German army regime; it may well be that the army deliberately fostered a center of Ukrainian nationalist activity at this point, so close to the front, especially to the hard-fought Kerch Peninsula battlefield, in order that it might serve as a rallying point for Ukrainian feeling and a possible base for the development of a Ukrainian fighting force.

The Ukrainian nationalists have always claimed as Ukrainian ethnic territory large areas beyond the eastern frontiers of the Ukrainian SSR, principally the southern part of Kursk *oblast*, the area around Rostov on the lower Don, the Crimea, and the Kuban' river valley. As far as the Kursk area is concerned, the war period yields no evidence, for the district was almost constantly a battlefield between the Red Army and the Germans. One clear indication concerning the Rostov district is the report cited in the preceding chapter of the Ukrainian speech but lack of nationalist feeling among the peasantry.[76] Another report by a nationalist Ukrainian confirms this, saying that 90 percent of the children spoke Ukrainian, but most of the older people spoke Russian habitually, and there was very little national feeling.[77]

[162] In 1941 Ukrainians comprised only a small proportion of the population of the Crimea. The Ukrainian nationalist claim to the peninsula was based primarily on geographical proximity and the lack of any clear majority for another ethnic group, since the prewar Crimea also had large numbers of Russians and Tatars, as well as smaller settlements of Italians, Greeks, and Germans. Hence it is not surprising that in 1942 the capital, Simferopol', should have had a Russian rather than a Ukrainian

[76] See Chapter X.
[77] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, September 18, 1942, p. 2.

162 The population on the whole of this territory reaches about 43,000,000 inhabitants of which there are:

In the Soviet Ukraine . .	33,500,000
In the Polish part . . .	8,000,000
In the Rumanian part . .	900,000
In the Hungarian part . .	600,000

The average density of this population is about the same as that of France, being 70·6 inhabitants per square kilometre and varying between 45 and 100 inhabitants per square kilometre in different regions, the density being a little less than that of Poland (85) and a little greater than that of Rumania and Jugoslavia (48).

If one accepts the figures of official Polish and Soviet statistics, one can estimate that of this population of 43,000,000, 36,000,000 are Ukrainians and the rest Polish, Great-Russian, White-Russian, Jewish, Moldavian, German, Hungarian, and other minorities and small groups scattered throughout the territory.

These figures are, moreover, almost exactly confirmed by the religion of the population: 85 per cent are Orthodox or Catholics of the Eastern rite, of which all without exception are Ukrainians.

000 It is obvious that, owing to its size and its population, the Soviet Ukraine is far more important than the other parts of the Ukraine. Its economic potential is proportionately still greater, which forces us to allot it a predominant place in that part of the book which will deal with the economic geography of the Ukraine.

1/11 [see category 116, p. 25--- Analyst]

161 population in the two zones, the character and origin of this density are not the same.

• 162 361 The density in Zone 1[1] is characterized by an agrarian over-population, resulting from a long feudal period and the servitude of the lands. The population is concentrated there in a large number of hamlets, in small towns and in small villages, the inhabitants adding to their agricultural revenues those of artisans, of small commerce, and of small industries.

There is almost a complete absence of large towns. Actually the whole of Zone 1[1] within Soviet boundaries, contains only one town whose population exceeds 100,000—Kiev, the administrative capital of the Ukraine (625,000 inhabitants).

Even if one adds Polish Galicia to this territory, as it is wholly part of Zone 1[1] we find only one other big town—Lvov, with 325,000 inhabitants, an administrative and cultural centre.

In Zone 2[1] on the contrary, we find three big towns: Kharkov (650,000 inhabitants), Odessa (550,000 inhabitants), and Dniepropetrovsk (375,000 inhabitants).

Apart from these three large towns, Zone 2[1] possesses a further four towns whose population exceeds 100,000: Nicolaiev, Mariupol, Zaporojie, and Lougansk.

The greater part of Zone 2[1] is a land of recent colonization. It is the New Russia and the free Ukraine, colonized during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Great Russian and Ukrainian elements.

The agricultural population is of a lesser density, and if the average number which expresses it is the same for the whole territory as for Zone 1[1] this is only a result of the greater number of large towns.

162 It would not be useless to point out that before the last war Odessa with her 700,000 inhabitants was the largest town of the Ukraine. But since the beginning

2 [see category 116, pp. 139-140. --- Analyst]

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

of the Soviet regime and the quasi-disappearance of the export of cereals and the importation of coal and of colonial products, Odessa has given up its place to Kharkov and then to Kiev, the first an industrial centre and the second an administrative one.

On the whole territory of the Ukraine 25·5 million human beings live in the country and obtain their means of existence from agriculture and allied trades and only 8,000,000 live in towns.

The latter thus form 24 per cent of the population, representing 19 per cent in Zone 1 and 27 per cent in Zone 2.

The principal occupations of these 8,000,000 town-dwellers are the following: workers, 6·5 million; military, officials, and free professions, 1 million; artisans, ½ million. As these figures are taken from Soviet statistics, the professions of traders, industrialists, and people of independent means are not represented.

It is interesting to note that of the 8,000,000 town-dwellers, 70 per cent are not Ukrainians but national minorities, which are less numerous in the country-side. Nevertheless their average proportion is much greater in Zone 2 where it sometimes reaches 40 per cent, as, for example, in the district of Odessa, and nearly 50 per cent in the Donietz basin.

The natural outlet for the surplus agrarian population of Zone 1 seems to be the great industrial centres such as the oil basin of the Donietz and the mines of Krivoi-Rog, where the landless peasants can find work. And yet the majority of the working mass has come from districts outside the Ukraine, whereas many of the farmers of these regions have emigrated to Eastern Siberia, where they have founded whole villages. Others have gone to the United States or to Canada, where they have founded prosperous agricultural communities.

[See category 116, pp. 139-140. --- Analyst]

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361 It seems to us opportune to give an idea of the Ukraine by describing the urban populations which are, from the point of view of European town life, to a great extent among the best organized Russian towns.

The most European town is Odessa. Founded at the end of the eighteenth century, it has broad and straight avenues and streets bordered by plane trees and acacias and built according to a plan, very well paved, with the most perfect modern drainage systems, with very comfortable houses, and finally with its port which is constructed in accordance with the technically most advanced principles. Odessa can easily compete with the great European towns of the same importance. It is curious that the first governors of Odessa, who have done much for the embellishment of the town, were two French *émigrés*, the Duc de Richelieu and the Comte de Langeron, whose names have been given to two [874] important streets. The University of Odessa, called that of New Russia, has been the cultural centre not only of the southern region of the Ukraine but it also attracted the young people of the Crimea and the Caucasus. Its great commercial activity, its external night life, and its • [162] cosmopolitan population, having 43 per cent Jews, 42 per cent Russians (Great Russians and Ukrainians), 6 per cent Greeks, 3 per cent Germans, 2 per cent Poles, 3 per cent Italians, Armenians, Georgians, Tartars, and others, gave it before the Revolution the appearance of a Mediterranean city.

Kharkov, also a University town, is to-day a European city, but, unlike Odessa, it owes its modern appearance to the Soviet regime. During fifteen years it had been the capital of the Ukraine and it has taken advantage of this position by completely changing its appearance which, before the last war, was very poor.

Kiev is a picturesque town lying on the hills of the right bank of the Dnieper. It is undoubtedly the most

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

attractive town not only of the Ukraine but of the whole of Russia. Its magnificent public gardens amaze the visitors. It is excelled by Odessa from the point of view of town organization but excels it by far from the æsthetic point of view. Its [2/1]University of St. Vladimir and its Polytechnic School enjoyed a great reputation in Russia.

Among the other towns with a European appearance one can mention Nicolaiev, the port at the mouth of the Boug; Vinnitza, the capital of Podolia, and to-day perhaps Dniepropetrovsk, which has the School of Mines, founded some years before the Great War. These cities have modern public buildings, up-to-date railway stations, good networks of tramways, etc.

In the domain of the organization and the appearance of the towns and the houses, the difference between Zone 1 and [2/1] is great. In Zone 1 the country-side is better organized and possesses better roads, while the telephone system had appeared there before the last war, etc. On the other hand the towns which, as we have already shown, are almost all small, can hardly be called such at all.

The towns of Zone [2/1] are new towns which have had the benefit of modern organization, while the country-side still has a colonial appearance, without roads, with numerous isolated hamlets and farms, far removed from each other.

Now a few words about the ethnical composition of the population of the Ukraine. The most important minorities living on Ukrainian territory are the following:

First of all the Great Russians; workers, officials, and some colonists in the eastern and southern parts, especially in the New Russia. Then the Jews, very numerous (about 2,500,000), almost all traders, artisans, or members of the free professions before the Revolution; to-day employees in commerce, in the State co-operatives

[2/1] [Kiev--Analyst]
[2/1] [see category 116, pp. 139-140---Analyst]

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where they represent 30 per cent of the employees, artisans, and workers in heavy and light industry.

The Germans, mostly agriculturalists, very rich before the Revolution, are concentrated in the districts of Odessa, Kherson, and in Northern Taurida.

According to information from German sources, and especially according to articles which had recently appeared in *Deutschtum im Auslande*, the number of German colonists in these regions had been, in 1914, about 750,000, of whom only 50,000 to 60,000 inhabited the great towns. Before the Revolution 2,500,000 hectares belonged to them. It is after 1840 that German colonization became intensified in the New Russia. Originally the Imperial Government had granted 600,000 hectares of excellent land to the colonists. Thanks to their labour and to the favourable economic conditions after 1840 and right up to 1914, the German colonists were able to acquire nearly 2,000,000 hectares at the expense of private owners descended from the nobility.

The German colonists always lived quite apart from the peasant community, enjoying a special legislation which granted them very important privileges in economic matters, especially in all that concerned the rights of succession. They had powerful economic organizations such as the Land Bank of Kherson (with a branch at Odessa) and numerous credit and trading co-operatives. In cultural and religious matters the German colonists also remained separated from their Ukrainian and Great Russian partners. Catholic and reformed parish schools were to be found in almost every German village, of whom some even possessed secondary schools and especially *Realschulen* based on the German schools of the same name, in which, though the general teaching was in Russian, German history and German geography had a predominant place.

is looked at by the majority of the Communist Party in Ukraine, and here in Russia even more, as some sort of strategy, a diplomatic game". 186 668

Rakovsky explained that, through the proclamation of the Soviet Union, Moscow had gained ten and twenty times more power in comparison with the previous state. Therefore Rakovsky demanded that the Government of the whole Union in Moscow should surrender 9/10 of its competence, and that this be transferred to the separate Soviet Republics. Together with the Commissar of the Interior of Soviet Ukraine of that time, Skypnyk, Rakovsky demanded that the relations between Ukraine and Russia should be these of a c o n f e d e r a t i o n.

Skrypnyk protested at the Congress of the Russian CP against the disregard of the national and cultural rights of the Ukrainian soldiers in the Red Army that led to a forced Russification of Ukrainians. He regretted that Ukrainian schools were not allowed for the 7 millions of Ukrainians in the Russian Soviet Republic, outside the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Skrypnyk sharply criticised the nationalism of the Russian Communists in Ukraine who did not admit the Ukrainian language in public and Party institutions. [162] ●

The Russian Communist N. Bukharin stated in a speech at the 12th Congress of the Party that the Communist organisation in Ukraine had a Russian-Jewish composition with a very small number of Ukrainians. And in the meantime, Bukharin said, — "in Ukraine there is a very strong national movement" (*Records of the 12th Congress of the Russian CP*).

However, the demands of those Communists who wished to restrict Russian centralism and enlarge the rights of the separate Soviet Republics did not attain a majority at the Congress of the Russian CP. In July 1923, the strictly centralist Constitution of the USSR was ratified. Besides the theoretical declaration of the equality of rights of nations and the 'right of separation' of the peoples from Russia this constitution actually concentrates all power in the hands of Moscow, so that the acts and orders of the 'All-Union Government' are valid even then if the separate Soviet Republics would protest against them. 631

The policy of Soviet Ukrainisation was limited mostly to those institutions which had to deal with the peasants. But in the towns and industrial centres the Russian Communists tried to prevent the admission of the Ukrainian language by every means. For this reason quarrels between Ukrainian and Russian Communists arose in the ranks of the Communist Party in Ukraine. Thus the Communist Alexander Shumsky, the Commissar of Education in 186 665

[In the year 1922 -- Analyst]

volunteers. At the end of World War II the Soviet Army occupied Carpatho-Ukraine. In June 1945 the Czechoslovak Government ceded this country to USSR.

4. The Ukrainians inside the Russian Soviet Republic (RSFSR)

Inside the administrative boundaries of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic there are not all territories inhabited by the Ukrainian nation. Soviet Russia did not permit the joining of the north-western parts of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory (the southern parts of the Kursk and Voronez districts) with Soviet Ukraine, though the population of these territories wished union with Ukraine. The Crimea had a considerable Ukrainian population. Together with the Tartars they had the majority in the country. Though the Russians were in minority, Crimea became part of RSFSR as an autonomous republic.

In all these provinces the Ukrainians are deprived of all national rights: they are condemned to Russification.

5. The Ukrainian Movement in the Kuban Region

The Ukrainians began to settle in the Kuban region from the end of the 18th century. Here the Russian Government allotted land for the Zaporovian Cossack Army that, after the destruction of the Cossack Fortress 'Sich' in 1775 had been for a certain time under a Turkish protectorate. Before the revolution of 1917 the polulation of the Kuban region consisted of 42,9% Cossacks who were obliged to do military service, for their whole life, and of peasants 52,8%. The rest were Circassians. 78% of all the land of the Kuban Region belonged to a state fund, and the Cossacks received allotments for their military service. The peasants took land on lease from the Cossacks. The Tsarist Government did not admit the Cossacks to education. Thus, in this country there was a lack of intelligentsia of local origin. In the towns there was a considerable influx of Russian intellectuals. After the revolution of 1917 a strong autonomist movement arose in the Kuban Region. The Kuban Cossacks created their Military Council and their Military Government. In October 1917, the Kuban Military Council proclaimed itself 'State Council', with the participation of all the nationalities of the Kuban Region, and a Kuban State Government was created, headed by the Social-Democrat Luka Bych.

After the Communist revolt in Russia, the Soviet Russian Government waged war against the region of the Don Cossacks and against the Kuban Region. During the war an alliance was formed between the Kuban State Council and the Russian Volunteer Army

— soldiers of the Ukrainian Army, politicians, state officials etc. had to go into exile. The neighbour states which had divided the Ukrainian territory among themselves had one common interest: to prevent the growth of a Ukrainian movement. However, Czechoslovakia met the cultural needs of the Ukrainian emigrants. On the recommendation of President T. G. Masaryk the Czechoslovakian Government from 1921 procured funds for the creation of Ukrainian Academic Schools in CSR — University, Ukrainian Economic School, Pedagogic University etc. In Prague prominent Ukrainian scholars were living, and here the political life of the Ukrainian emigration developed.

In Berlin the Ukrainian Scientific Institute at the Berlin University was created in 1927. A Ukrainian Scientific Institute was founded in Warsaw in 1929. These institutes developed a considerable activity.

The Ukrainian emigrants, officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army who had left Ukraine with their Government in 1920, remained faithful to the traditions of the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic. The Ukrainians in exile were that part of the Ukrainian nation who could speak freely to the world in the name of their enslaved brethren.

The Ukrainians in America are mostly from the Western territories of Ukraine — Galicia, Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine. They are grouped around insurance associations. The oldest Ukrainian organisation in USA is the Ukrainian National Association in New York, founded in 1894. This Association publishes the daily *Svoboda*. The Ukrainian Workingmen's Association in Scranton, Pa., founded in 1910, publishes the weekly *People's Will*. There are also smaller organisations of a similar nature. Between the two World Wars the Ukrainians in Poland had considerable financial support for their cultural institutions, especially for the schools, from American and Canadian Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians in USA are mostly workers; in Canada, farmers. The number of the Ukrainians in the United States is about 1 million, in Canada about 300,000. The Ukrainians in Canada have their co-operative associations, educational institutions and private schools. The centres of the Ukrainian emigration are Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, Montreal and Hamilton. The strongest political organisation of the Canadian Ukrainians is the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, publishing *Ukrainian Voice* in Winnipeg. Among the Ukrainians in USA and Canada the Communist Party is conducting its destructive activities, possessing the means even for the publishing of big daily papers in Ukrainian

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132 49·3°. Drawbacks for agriculture in New Russia are the prevalence of north and east winds and an irregular and insufficient rainfall. The average rainfall at Yelisavetgrad is 17 in., at Odessa 16 in., at Lugansk 15 in., and at Nikolaev 14 in. The rains in April and May decide the harvest. June is the rainiest month, but from May to September there are droughts. Most places are largely dependent upon wells and ponds constructed in the ravines, which are frequent on the steppes.

The climate of the Ukraine, as a whole, is therefore continental, i. e. the variation between summer and winter temperatures is very great. Sudden variations of temperature are frequent. The rainfall is by no means abundant, and there is a progressive decline towards the south and south-east. The fact, however, that the bulk of the rainfall occurs in the summer favours agricultural operations, even where the annual amount of rainfall is comparatively low. It is only in New Russia that the country suffers seriously from drought.

(4) Sanitary Conditions

312 The Ukraine is very backward in regard to sanitary
344 conditions. Less than half the towns have a satisfactory water-supply, and a very small percentage of them a regular drainage system.

164 Typhoid, diphtheria, and malaria are very prevalent.
758 To the great majority of the people in the country, doctors are inaccessible, and even in the towns good hospitals and adequate medical attendance are very
515 rare. In the matter of cleanliness, however, the Little Russians compare favourably with the Great Russians.

(5) Race and Language

Race

162 The population of the Ukraine is composed of
563 a mixture of various races and nationalities, those chiefly represented being Little Russians, Poles, Jews,

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Germans, Moldavians, and Bulgarians. There are also a certain number of Cossacks, but these are of Little Russian origin. The large majority of the inhabitants of the Ukraine are Little Russians, as will be seen by the tables given below. The origin of the Little Russians and their precise relation to the other branches of the Slav family are still a matter of dispute, but it is possible that they are of purer stock than the Great Russians, though they have assimilated Polish and Tatar elements, while the Great Russians have been largely influenced by the Finns.

The *Poles* live chiefly in the western Ukraine, occupying the Governments of Volhynia and Podolia, and the Kiev and Berdichev districts in the Government of Kiev. The large estates are chiefly in their hands, and they are tenants of many others, while they also fill important positions in the sugar trade and in general carry much weight in the social and economic life of the western and central Ukraine. They are Roman Catholics.

The *Jews*, who form a most important commercial, industrial, and political group, are found in the Governments of Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev (except in the capital), Chernigov, Poltava, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav (except in Yalta), and Taurida. The town of Berdichev, in particular, is a Jewish stronghold. Many of the largest estates are mortgaged to the Jews, although they tend to live in the towns, where they succeed as good business men and middle men. Statistics for the Jewish population in the Ukraine given in the *Recueil de matériaux sur la situation économique des Israelites de Russie, d'après l'enquête de la 'Jewish Colonisation Association'*, 1908, do not show a large increase over the figures of 1897.

As regards the *Germans*, Swabian colonies have existed at Odessa since 1803, and the famous Liebental agricultural colony between the Dniester and the Black Sea was founded in 1812. Below the falls of the Dnieper and in Taurida there are Mennonite colonies from West and East Prussia. There are also German agriculturists

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162 563 in Volhynia, who have done excellent work in draining the marshes. The Germans make their agriculture pay, and commercially they have penetrated to every town in the Ukraine. They also control many of the large estates and possess considerable financial influence. Their religion is Lutheran, Roman Catholic, or Mennonite. From a comparison of the table on p. 11 with figures for 1915 given by Dr. Max Friederichsen, it appears that the Germans in the Ukraine have decreased by about 50,000 since 1897. Many have emigrated to America; others have been assimilated.

There are many *Moldavians* engaged in agriculture in the districts of Tyraspol, Yelisavetgrad, Ananiev, and Kherson. They form 6 per cent. of the population in the Government of Kherson, and 0·2 per cent. in that of Yekaterinoslav. Their religion is Orthodox Greek, as is also that of the *Bulgarians*. The latter are to be found chiefly in the districts of Berdyansk, Melitopol, Tyraspol, and round Odessa, and make excellent farmers. Though they speak Bulgarian, most of them understand Russian.

The *Cossacks* are energetic farmers, and have extensive farms. In their methods they are far in advance of the ordinary Little or Great Russians.

Among other nationalities are some *Czechs* in southwest Volhynia, and a certain number of *White Russians*, chiefly in the northern part of the Government of Chernigov.

The following are the figures given by the official Russian census in 1897 for the different races in the governments composing the Ukraine:

Government.	*Total.*	*Little Russians.*	*Great Russians.*	*White Russians.*	*Jews.*	*Germans.*	*Moldavians.*	*Poles.*	*Bulgarians.*
1. Volhynia . .	2,989,482	2,095,579 (i. e. 70 per cent. of total population)	104,889	3,794	394,774	171,331	—	184,161	—
2. Podolia . . .	3,018,299	2,442,819 (81 per cent.)	98,984	—	369,306	4,069	26,764	69,156	—
3. Kiev . . .	3,559,229	2,819,145 (80 per cent.)	209,427	5,389	430,489	14,707	—	68,791	—
4. Chernigov . .	2,297,854	1,526,072 (66 per cent.)	495,963	151,466	113,787	5,306	—	3,302	—
5. Poltava . . .	2,778,151	2,583,133 (93 per cent.)	72,941	—	110,352	4,579	—	3,891	—
6. Kharkov . .	2,492,316	2,009,411 (81 per cent.)	440,936	10,258	12,650	9,080	—	5,910	—
7. Yekaterinoslav .	2,113,674	1,456,369 (69 per cent.)	364,974	14,052	99,152	80,979	9,175	12,365	—
8. Kherson (rural) .	2,733,612	1,462,039 (54 per cent.)	575,375	22,958	322,537	123,453	147,218	30,894	25,685
Odessa . . .	403,815	37,925 (9 per cent.)	198,233	1,267	124,511	10,248	488	17,395	600
9. Taurida [1] . .	1,447,790	611,121 (42 per cent.)	404,463	9,726	55,418	78,305	—	10,112	41,260

[1] The Little Russians only claim the mainland of the Government of Taurida. Allowing a third of the population in 1897 to represent residents in Taurida without the Crimea (which is an under-estimate), a total of about 22,867,000 is reached for the population in the whole of the Ukraine. Out of this total the Little Russians in the Ukraine amounted in 1897 to 17,043,613 or 74 per cent.

162 562

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casus, and 304,261 in parts of the old Governments of Lublin and Syedlets (now incorporated in the single Government of Cholm). Thus in 1897 there was in European Russia a grand total of at least 21,692,766 Little Russians. 161

Austria and Hungary also contain considerable numbers of Little Russians, or as they are often called in these parts, Ruthenians. Official figures of 1910 give 3,208,092 in Galicia, 305,101 in the Bukovina, and 472,587 in certain north-eastern counties in Hungary, i. e. a total of 3,985,780 Little Russians.

Accurate statistics for the full, up-to-date total of Little Russians are not available. Reliable German figures estimate the present total of Little Russians as at least 30,000,000, which is also borne out by unofficial Little Russian and Polish figures. 161

Language

The whole language question has been somewhat exaggerated owing to its inevitable connexion with politics. It is asserted by many that Little Russian is a separate language from Great Russian, though on the other hand many declare that it is only a dialect. It should be noted that in 1905 the Petrograd Academy of Science recognized the value of the study of the Ukraine dialect. 197

(6) Population[1]

Distribution and Density

The *Russian Year Book* for 1916 gives the following estimate for the total population in the towns and in the country respectively on January 1, 1913: 162

Government.	*Town Population.*	*Country Population.*
Volhynia	293,300	3,777,200
Podolia	308,900	3,646,400
Kiev	744,500	3,919,100
Chernigov	321,100	2,787,700

[1] See also Appendix I, p.

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Government.	Town Population.	Country Population.
Poltava	363,500	3,352,900
Kharkov	516,200	2,851,500
Yekaterinoslav	406,500	2,883,600
Kherson	1,017,500	2,592,800
Taurida (with the Crimea)	447,200	1,559,300

It is apparent from these figures that a large proportion of the population of the Ukraine is still engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Many parts of the Ukraine are very thickly populated. The most densely populated Governments are as follows: Podolia, 243; Kiev, 236; Poltava, 192; Chernigov, 154; Kharkov, 160; Volhynia, 146; Yekaterinoslav, 135; and Kherson, 132 persons per square mile.

Movement.

The population of the Ukraine increases more steadily than that of Great Russia. The following figures are given by the official statistical annual (1914) for the year 1912:

	Births. total.	Births. per 1,000.	Deaths. total.	Deaths. per 1,000.	Increase. per 1,000.
Volhynia	154,685	39·0	72,287	18·1	20·9
Podolia	145,401	37·4	73,254	18·9	18·5
Kiev	182,024	39·3	92,109	19·9	19·4
Chernigov	116,411	37·8	59,972	19·5	18·3
Poltava	136,951	37·3	64,801	17·6	19·7
Kharkov	151,064	45·4	73,349	22·0	23·4
Yekaterinoslav	159,233	49·5	72,995	22·7	26·8
Kherson	157,622	44·4	92,227	26·0	18·4
Taurida	85,913	43·7	44,080	22·4	21·3

The average mortality is lower in the towns than in the country, owing to the fact that the more robust elements of the population are attracted to the towns, leaving the old men, women, and children behind.

Infant mortality is often as high as 50 per cent.; this is due to ignorance, insufficient feeding, and the fact that mothers return to work in the fields or factories within a few days of child-birth. The imperfect system of medical aid prevents many cases of births and deaths from ever being officially reported.

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frontier. After the proclamation of religious toleration in 1905, about 200,000 Ukrainians immediately declared themselves Uniats, so that the Russian Government soon found it necessary to restrict the scope of the proclamation. Though the Uniats in Russia were forbidden to join the Catholic Church, many of them became Catholics or sectaries. The last Russian persecution of the Uniat Church took place during the Russian occupation of Galicia in 1915, when the Russian bishop, Eulogius, started a regular campaign to replace Uniat priests by Orthodox clergy, and Uniat Ukrainian by Russian Orthodox schools. Many Uniat priests were banished to Siberia; and the Uniat Metropolitan, Szeptycki, was exiled to a Russian monastic prison. It is uncertain whether the Uniat Church has been gaining ground outside the provinces of Cholm and Polesia. As no statistics have been taken in Russia since the decree of religious toleration in 1905, it is difficult to give a correct estimate of the number of members of the Russian Orthodox Church, but their percentage varies from 75 to 93 in the various Governments of the Russian Ukraine. The Great-Russian sect of the *Raskolniki* (Old Believers) found refuge in the Governments of Kharkov (0·1 per cent. of the population) and Chernigov (0·9 per cent.).

The number of Roman Catholics, chiefly Poles, is higher in the west (in Volhynia the Poles in 1897 formed 6·16 per cent. of the population), but they are only slightly more numerous than the Lutheran Protestants (in Volhynia 5·73 of the population), who are German colonists.

Of great social importance are the peasant sects, of which the chief in the Ukraine is the *Shtunda* (from *Stunde*, since they gather at a definite hour). The doctrines of this Lutheran sect, which originated in Württemberg in 1705, were brought to South Russia by the Württemberg merchants, as the Danzig merchants, who came here after the partitions of Poland, brought with them the teaching of the Mennonite sect. Since 1870 it has been oppressed officially by the Russian

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the Ukraine were mostly of the 'seminarist' type and often of Ukrainian nationality, and hence of peasant descent. In the Ukraine the secular clergy were, if anything, more popular than the monastic.

(*b*) *Jews.*—Next in number to the Orthodox are the Jews. Records make it clear that since the seventeenth century the Ukraine has been the centre of the Jewish 'pogrom' movement, and is more anti-Semitic than any other East-European country. A Hebrew-Jewish scholar, Nathan of Zaslavl, has left a document[1] containing the record of terrible atrocities perpetrated by the Ukrainians and Cossacks on the Jews during the Cossacks' War against Poland. The 'pogroms' of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may appear less cruel; but, though they were organized by the Russian secret police, it has been proved in the law-courts that the local population was quite ready to fall in with the suggestions of these agents.[2] The reasons for this hatred are partly economic—for the Jews are very successful middlemen between the Ukraine and other countries, and hence in possession of capital, which they lend at a high rate to the peasant—but are also racial, since the hatred between these two races is stronger than that between either Poles or Great Russians and the Jews. All the traditions of the steppe-country peasant are opposed to those of the Jewish townsman. This is shown by the facts that there is hardly any mixed Jewish-Ukrainian population, and that the Jews live chiefly in the towns and industrial settlements where Russians and Poles predominate. The Jews came to the Ukraine on the first wave of colonization from Poland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

According to data obtained in 1897, the percentage of the Jewish population in the Governments of the Ukraine was as follows: Volhynia, 13·2 per cent.; Podolia, 12·24 per cent.; Kiev, 12·09 per cent.; Kherson, 12 per cent.; Chernigov, 5 per cent.;

[1] *Jawein Mesula: a Chronicle of Events from 1648 to 1652.* First printed in Vienna, 1656.

[2] I. Luchitski, *Legal Speeches concerning the Jewish Pogroms*, Kiev, 1908 (in Russian).

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Yekaterinoslav, 5 per cent.; Poltava, 4 per cent.; Taurida, 4 per cent.; Kharkov, 0·5 per cent. only.

Like the Orthodox Church, the Jewish community has its sects. There are two such sects in the Ukraine; and their members exercise a great moral influence, and form a bridge between the Turkish and Jewish populations of the Ukraine. They are called Karaimy and Krymchaki, and live chiefly in the towns of the Taurida and Kherson Governments. They number about 12,000. These people, using mostly Tatar dialects, are supposed to be descendants of Jewish pre-Christian colonies in the Crimea and the Turkic Khazars of the Middle Ages, who were of Jewish faith. The Karaimy disapprove of the Talmud, and base all their beliefs on the Law of Moses. They differ from other Jewish communities in their cleanliness, their absolute honesty in business, and their great sense of social duties. Hence their wealth is evenly distributed in their communities.

(c) *Mohammedans.*—The largest Mohammedan colony is found in the Taurida government (187,940, or 13 per cent.), but their schools are less efficient and their culture is much lower than that of the Mohammedans of the Volga or of Turkestan.

(B) Educational

The last census, taken in 1897,[1] gives the following figures:

Name of Government.	*Total population in 1,000's.*	*No. of literates in 1,000's.*	*Per cent. of literates.*
Podolia . .	3,018	450	14·5
Kharkov . .	2,492	384	15·4
Poltava . .	2,778	446	16·1
Volhynia . .	2,989	493	16·5
Kiev . . .	3,559	598	16·8
Chernigov . .	2,298	402	17·5
Yekaterinoslav .	2,114	433	20·5
Kherson . .	2,734	657	24·1
Taurida . .	1,448	380	26·2
	23,430	4,243	average 18·2

[1] From *The Ukrainian Movement as a Stage in South Russian Separatism*, Shchegolev (Kiev, 1912), p. 364.

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

of education, and in their occupations. The bulk (86·4 per cent.) of the Ukrainians are peasants and agriculturists. The percentage of people living in the country is in the Government of Kharkov, 85; in Poltava, 89; Yekaterinoslav, 88; Chernigov, 91; Taurida, 80; Kherson, 70. The percentage of peasants is almost the same, e. g. Kharkov, 90; Poltava, 89; Yekaterinoslav, 87; Chernigov, 86; Taurida, 73; Kherson, 61. The average increase in population is higher than in any other province in European Russia; consequently, though many peasants have become, during the last twenty-five years, workmen in the newly started industries, the general number of agricultural peasants remains unchanged.

Land Tenure[1].—While Great Russia is at present a country of communal land-ownership (*mir*), in the Ukraine or Little Russia individual or, strictly speaking, family ownership and communal ownership exist together (cf. p. 78). The *mir* in Great Russia appears to have been introduced in the sixteenth century, when the Moscow Government established serfdom and imposed heavy taxation, for it was easier to make the whole village responsible for the taxes than the separate families. However, in the north or, properly speaking, Novgorod Russ. the land, as a general rule, belonged to one large family or clan, composed of from two to six houses (the owners of which bore the same name), and called *pyechishche* (large stove). The ownership was hereditary, and hence the land became more and more subdivided, so that families owned more or less according to the number of children. There was no readjustment of the land as in the case of the *mir*. The *pyechishche* of Novgorod was known in Kiev-Russ as *ognishche* (meaning a large fire); and the term *ognishchanin* (meaning a member of the *ognishche*) is found in the Kiev law (*Russkaya Pravda*). Connected with that form of tenure is a custom, which even now is found sometimes in the Ukraine, of minorate, according to which the younger

[1] See also p. 77.

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

of Volhynia and Podolia conditions are better, and the peasants have larger holdings, though only 16 per cent. own above five *desyatines*; in Kharkov, 33 per cent. own above five *desyatines*. In no place do the Ukrainian peasants equal in land-ownership the German and Czech colonists. The average holding among the German colonists is from 10 to 12 *desyatines*, and they specialize in cattle-breeding. The Czechs are concentrated in south-western Volhynia (in the districts of Dubno, Rovno, and Lutsk); and their average holding is 13 *desyatines*. The peasants' holdings are in a striking contrast to the big estates. In the Kiev Government there are some 43 estates of above 5,000 *desyatines* each, mostly owned by the nobles (some of them descendants of the old independent dukes, *knaz*) of Russian, Polish, or German nationality.

About 10 per cent. of the inhabitants of the Governments of Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, Taurida, Kiev, and Chernigov are occupied in industries other than agricultural. Trade occupies between 6 and 7 per cent. of the population in the Governments of Kherson, Kiev, Podolia, and Taurida.

General Observations

Ukrainian Nationalism.—The feeling of nationality, as it exists to-day, dates from Chmielnicki's rising in 1648. The old history of Kiev-Russ is common to Great Russians, White Russians, and the Ukrainians (Little Russians), and has been continued after the Tatar invasions chiefly in Great Russia, while the Ukraine ever since has been subject to one of her neighbours. Since Chmielnicki's time, the Ukrainian nationality has made progress only in one direction, i.e. in producing a small but energetic *intelligentsia*, which does not consider itself Russian or Polish in addition to being Ukrainian, though it is obliged to seek its higher education in Russia, Poland, and other foreign countries. The national feeling of this class is

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

ideals of the *intelligentsia*, if the latter cannot provide them with the economic advantages to which they aspire.

The *Ukrainian territory* claimed by the propagandist literature, i. e. from San to Don, never formed a political unit, either independently or under the sway of any empire. It is a well-defined geographical unit with most favourable economic conditions, but the people living in these lands do not form a homogeneous nation of one linguistic, social, and cultural type. The essentially Ukrainian country lies on both sides of the Dnieper. In the Don and Kuban regions, the Ukrainian colonists were preceded by the Great-Russian colonists, in Eastern Galicia by the Poles. But it is true that during the time of the greatest Russian oppression Eastern Galicia played the part of Piedmont for the *intelligentsia* from the Russian Ukraine. The nine Governments grouped by the Russian Administration into (1) South-west Territory (Podolia, Volhynia, and Kiev), (2) Malorossiya (Chernigov, Poltava, and Kharkov), and (3) Novorossiya (only Kherson, Taurida, and Yekaterinoslav out of the five Governments of Novorossiya), have a population which is preponderantly Ukrainian in the rural districts; in the towns the Ukrainians are outnumbered by Jews, Russians, Poles, Greeks, Germans, Italians, &c.

It is remarkable how small a part is played by the *intelligentsia* in industry and trade, in the Church, and in legal and educational institutions. All Ukrainians are agriculturists, but in most cases they are merely labourers, not concerned with the management of agricultural industries. Since 1905, however, the co-operative societies have brought to the Ukrainian peasant the social education which the *mir* gave to the Great-Russian peasant in the two last centuries. The claim, therefore, that these nine Governments are Ukrainian means that people speaking various Ukrainian dialects and having similar customs inhabit them, though, so far, they have not managed it politically, socially, or culturally, and are hardly likely to do

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

some of the others studied in mixed Ukrainian-Russian or Ukrainian-Jewish schools, they were "mechanically transferred" after the first four years to classes using Ukrainian.[66]

Zatonski, who replaced Skripnik as Commissar of Education, stated that the Ukrainization of Russian children had taken place in Kharkov and in the Don Basin as well as in Kiev; and he pointed to Krasnolutzki District, where the number of Russian schools had dropped from twenty in 1930 to twelve in 1932.[67] He also declared that in Kherson and Makiivitz there were no Russian elementary schools at all; and that in some places there had been a voluntary Ukrainization of Russian children because the buildings and equipment provided for the Russian schools were greatly inferior to those of the Ukrainian schools.[68] Additional evidence was forthcoming in 1934 and 1935 to show some enforced Ukrainization of Polish children and of those of other minorities, as well as of some of the Russian children; and this situation was denounced as an example of "deliberate nationalist wrecking."[69]

This campaign against over-Ukrainization, however, was not intended to lead to a revival of the Russification policy. Kossior, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, was adamant on this point. He explained in 1933 that the results of over-Ukrainization would have to be eliminated because this was demanded by internationalism, "by the brotherly interests of the toilers of all the nationalities in the Ukraine."[70] But, he went on, the Russian nationalists would not be allowed to take advantage of mistakes already committed in order to reverse the policy of Ukrainization; on the contrary, there would be a further drive for "Bolshevik Ukrainization." A similar view was taken in 1934 by Postishev, the assistant secretary of the Central Committee and the official most actively engaged in hunting down the Ukrainian nationalists.[71]

According to the latest available material, the Ukrainization of education has kept pace with the expansion of general education, and a greater proportion of pupils were studying in Ukrainian schools in 1937 than in 1927. By 1937 the general schools embraced 5,364,800 children as compared with 1,678,100 in 1913 — an increase of 319 percent over the pre-War year; and whereas twenty-two of every thousand people attended elementary school in the Kiev Educational District in 1912, in 1937 the figure for all of the Ukraine had risen to

[66] *Ibid.*, Mar. 29, 1933. [67] *Visti*, May 1, 1933. [68] *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1933.
[69] *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1934 (speech of Zatonski); Aug. 22, 1934, Jan. 5, 1935.
[70] *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1933. [71] *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1934.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine

one hundred seventeen of every thousand people.[72] The middle schools had expanded greatly by 1937; the fifth to tenth grades embraced 1,927,100 pupils in 1937 as compared with 347,900 pupils in 1928, an increase of 554 percent in ten years.[73]

While the school system was expanding quantitatively, the number of children studying in Ukrainian schools was also increasing. During the school year 1935–36, the year that marked the end of the campaign to check over-Ukrainization, 83.0 percent of the pupils in the general schools were studying in the Ukrainian language. This percentage coincides roughly with the proportion of Ukrainians in the total population. It also represents a higher percentage of pupils in Ukrainian schools than attended such schools in 1927, a fact which resulted from the expansion of middle schools in the rural areas and from the decline in the number of children attending schools in some of the other languages. During the school year 1935–36, 12.7 percent of all the pupils in the general schools studied in Russian, 1.4 percent in Jewish, 1.3 percent in German, 0.5 percent in Moldavian and 0.5 percent in Polish schools.[74] In absolute numbers, there had been an increase between 1927 and 1935–36 in the pupils studying in the Russian, German, Moldavian, Tartar, Bulgarian and Greek languages; there had been a decline in the number of pupils studying in the Jewish, Polish, Swedish and Assyrian languages; and schools had been established for Uzbeks, Belorussians, Kirghiz, Kazaks, Turkomens and Latvians.[75]

With regard to the technical and higher educational institutions, the author has no figures on the number of students in the Ukrainized

[72] The figure for the number of pupils in 1937 is taken from *Socizlističeskoe Stroitelstvo Sojuza S.S.S.R., 1933–1938* gg. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1939), p. 163.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[74] *Socialistična Ukraina. Statistični Zbirnik* (Kiev, 1937), p. 222.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 222. *Statistika Ukraini. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini . . .*, pp. 20–26. A comparison of absolute figures for 1927 and 1935–36 must take into account that the statistics for 1927 gave the total number of pupils in mixed schools but not the number studying in various languages used in these schools. The number of pupils studying in the Russian, German, Moldavian, Tartar, Bulgarian and Czech languages in 1935–36 was greater than the number studying in their own schools in 1927 plus the total number in mixed schools using these languages for some classes. The conclusion that there was a decline in the total number of pupils studying in the Jewish, Polish, Assyrian and Swedish languages is arrived at by considering roughly the number of pupils in mixed schools studying in these languages. For example, in 1927 there were 68,836 pupils in Jewish schools; in 1935–36 there were 69,211 pupils studying in the Jewish language; hence, there were 375 more pupils *studying in Jewish* in 1935–36 than had been *attending Jewish schools* in 1927. But in 1927 there were 11,603 pupils in mixed schools using Jewish and either Russian or Ukrainian; in all probability there were more than 375 pupils in these schools who were being taught in Jewish; and by 1935–36 the surplus above 375 had been lost to Jewish classes, indicating a decline in the total number studying in Jewish.

11: Obermaier RD1 Ukraine RD1
●162

[For Magyar denationalization of the Boyki and Huzul Ukrainian tribes, see category 116, page 6]

11: Obermaier RD1 Ukraine RD1
●162

[For statistics on Ukrainians living outside the Ukrainian frontiers, see category 116, pp. 199 and 202]

131 further that the boundaries of the Ukrainian nation may be divided into southern boundaries (Black Sea and Caucasus), southwest boundaries (Rumanians and Magyars), western boundaries (Slovaks and Poles), northern boundaries (White Russians and Russians) and eastern boundaries (peoples of the Don and the Caucasus). For these scholars Ukraine is the southern part of the vast Sarmatian lowland between the Carpathian arc, the Finnish highland, the Urals and the Caucasus. They certainly go to great pains to reduce to a common denominator the censuses of the various states in which the Ukrainians have been forced to live. They have added up the square kilometers of all Ukrainian countries and the people living in them, and have reached the following maximal result for 1933: (3)

•162 3. Kubyievych: The Distribution of Population in the Ukraine, page 6.

Ukrainian provinces on January 1, 1933 within the states:	Surface in 1000 sq. kilometers	Surface area of total Ukrainian territory in percentage	Inhabitants in 1000	Proportion of inhabitants of total Ukrainian populated area in percentage
Soviet Union.....	773.4	82.4	43,658	79.6
Poland.....	132.2	14.1	9,198	16.8
Rumania.....	17.6	1.9	1,258	2.3
Czechoslovakia.	14.9	1.6	746	1.3
	938.1	100.0	54,860	100.0

The maximal result means that the Ukrainians in /62
these maximal boundaries have partly an absolute, partly a relative majority. The Ukrainians have an absolute majority in a total of 718,300 square kilometers on which there are 47,657 million inhabitants. (4)

4. Kubyievych: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 19.

Within the wider boundaries there are 30.2% foreign minorities, and in the narrower boundaries, 24.7%. (5)

5. Kubyievych: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 305 ff.

In 1933 there was a total of 43,360,000 Ukrainians throughout the world; of these 34.43 million were in the Soviet Union, 5.87 million in Poland, 1.1 million in Rumania (including Bessarabia and Bukovina), and 590,000 in Czechoslovakia. The remainder were Ukrainians living outside the country. (6) According to the well-known Ukrainian(101)

6. Ibid., page 325.

geographer Kubyievych, the Ukrainian racial /1/
boundary is difficult to determine in the eastern part of the Caucasian foreland where, besides Ukrainians, there are also Russian and Caucasian peoples, and on the northern boundary, where in the region of Chernigov the question is disputed as to whether the inhabitants are Ukrainians, Russians or White Russians. If we distribute the /61
54,870,000 inhabitants of the entire Ukrainian settled area over the 938,000 square kilometers of surface, 58.5 souls accrue to one square kilometer, while the number is 67.3 if we do not include the thinly populated mixed area of the eastern

[Galicia] [Volhynia] European Jews E14

U 563 E.J. 162 U [463] are found in the villages and cities, everywhere except at hard peasant labor. As early as 1900, 74% of all Jews earning a livelihood in Russia, Poland and Galicia were in commerce, in the credit system, in crafts and in industry. In 1931 there were 158,400 Jews living in villages in East Galicia alone, that is 3% of the people living in the country; in the cities, on the other hand, there were 454,900 Jews or 37.3% of the urban population. (51) In 1929 the various trades were

51. Seraphim, Jewry in East European Area, p. 340.

50% in the hands of Jews, and in Volhynia a total of 73% of all tailors, shoemakers, tanners, bakers, furriers, blacksmiths, watchmakers and other artisans were Jews.

U 563 In spite of the fact that the Ukrainians lived in such close proximity to Jews, they kept their cultural life free of Jewish influence and their race free from Jewish blood.

*

U 476 "More important than selling and profit is the community which has become happy and morally strong as a result of proper training by means of cooperative work and self-aid." These words were not, as might be supposed, spoken at a major assembly of German cooperatives; they were coined at Lwów by the head of the Ukrainian cooperatives. They were addressed to the West Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian cooperatives were of unusual national significance; they improved the wretched condition of the peasants and educated the latter to think in terms of the common welfare; and they offered to Ukrainian intelligentsia a real, albeit meager possibility of existence. How can conditions in the country be anything but miserable if U 162 60% of the peasants own dwarf farms with less than

•162 five hectares of land, if overpopulation is so great that in 49% of the country there are between 80 and 100 /93/ people and in 51% there are more than 100 persons per square kilometer. (52)

52. Kubiyovich: The Distribution of the Population, page 35.

476 The ideological center of the Ukrainian cooperative system was the "Revised Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives" with its center in Lwów. At the beginning of 1939 it controlled the four departmental provincial centers with a total of 3455 cooperatives and 673,000 members. The four departmental centers were the "Centrobanka" for credit cooperatives (1889 members at the end of 1938, with an annual sale of 70.5 million zloty); the "Centrosoyuz" for the agricultural buying and selling cooperatives, the "Maslosoyuz" for dairy farmers' cooperatives and the "Narodnya Torgovlia" for urban consumer societies. The private capital of the Revised Union amounted to 23 million zloty at the end of 1938, the savings came to over 12 million zloty. The sales receipts of all cooperatives amounted to 159 million zloty.

One is almost tempted to speak of a "Ukrainian autarchy" if one hears how much business the buying and selling cooperatives carried on. Galicia and [241] particularly Podolia with its rich black earth and sheltered valleys is rich in fruit, vegetables, legumes, hemp, grain. Cattle-raising is also [233] intensively carried on, especially in the Carpathian foreland. The peasant brought all these products to the cooperative which was ready to serve him and not to profit by him. The cooperatives maintained collection and sorting centers where the products were turned into "standardized" goods. The same cooperative furnished practically everything a farm household needed: shoes, chicory, sugar, kerosene, headgear, candles, seeds, artificial fertilizer and machines. Much of it

/141/ Hunger Overcomes Resistance

178 Bolshevism tore the Ukrainians away from their past and hurled them, as it were, into a dark, unknown future. They were thrown from one extreme into the other, not only with regard to religion, but also in a social, economic and political respect. They were thrown from unlimited individualism into a society where all are supposed to be equal.

When Bolshevik slogans spread through the Ukrainian villages there was a great deal that was
423 ripe for oblivion. Czarist Moscow, the great princes of the Church and the wealthy gentry had exerted themselves precisely to keep the populace in a state of ignorance and to prevent any kind of enlightenment. The masses were thus more tractable and the existing order was not endangered. Nevertheless, with thrift and industry the peasants had succeeded in considerably enlarging their land after serfdom was abolished in 1861, to the
[162] detriment of the landed proprietors. In 1861 the peasants owned 45.7% of 48.1 million hectares, in 1916 they owned 65%. (84) The rest was the prop-

84. Kubiyovich: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 360.

erty of the lords of the manor, the church and the state.

423 With the rapid increase in population there
241 was a great land shortage, especially in North Ukraine, even after the distribution of land in 1861. Conditions had not improved much since 1830, when the representative of the nobility of the Poltava district reported in the Senate that in his district "there was a perceptible shortage of land and dire poverty". (85) In Podolia,

85. Veit: Farming Economy and Agrarian Set-up of South Ukraine, page 32.

474 the inventory of goods, buildings and land are likewise property of the community, but the agricultural products are distributed on a share basis according to work performed, after expenses and reserves have been deducted. In contrast to the commune, the farm produce consumed by the family and the family's household economy are private. Nominally the farmer is co-owner of the kolhosp which the law describes as "agricultural common property on a cooperative basis". The rights and privileges of the farmer who has "voluntarily" joined are set forth in the statute. No compensation is paid for agricultural property brought in by the individual farm. If a farmer withdraws from the kolhosp, what he has brought in is not returned to him, but he can demand an allowance which, however, is very small and in no wise corresponds to the actual value.

•162 Of the total of 44.5 million hectares of land in the Soviet Republic in 1938, 29.7 million hectares fell to the kolhosp, 1.8 million to the separate property of the kolhosp farmers, /Facing
439 page 152/ /Map X: Export of Coal and Sugar from Soviet Ukraine. (Average 1927/1928). The Ukrainian supply to the Great Russian areas of coal and sugar shows a similar development as the distribution of grain. In these products, too, export to foreign countries was small./ /153/ 1.5 million hectares to individual non-collective farmers, 4.2 million hectares to Soviet farms and 7.3 million hectares to other properties. (97)

97. Deminsky: "The Economy of the Ukraine" in Deutsche Berufserziehung, No. 15 and 16, p. 135.

414 From a practical point of view the kolhosp represents a large estate whose land lies round about the estate. All the members of the commune are the estate owners. Since the kolhosps are forbidden to employ outside manpower, a stranger cannot

369 always belonged to the countries of the world that have the least number of cities. In 1897 only 3% of the population of the entire Ukraine lived in large cities, and as late as 1926, only 6.7%. In 1931 Greater Ukraine had 12 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants. In the almost thirty years between 1897 and 1926 the village population increased by 41.5% and the urban population, also as a result of immigration, of course, by
• 162 85.4%. (108) The natural increase of the Ukrain-

108. Kubiyovich: Distribution of the Population in the Ukraine, page 30.

ian population belongs to the largest of Europe, in fact is often the largest. True, mortality is high - about 20 deaths annually per 1000 inhabitants -, but /166/ the birth rate is still essentially higher - about 40 births annually per 1000 inhabitants. The lowest population surplus is shown in densely populated Galicia with 11.5 per thousand, and Carpatho-Ukraine with 16.1 per thousand. In 1927 the natural increase in Soviet Ukraine amounted to 22.5 per thousand and in the Crimea to 26.8 per thousand. (109)

109. Kubiyovich: Distribution of the Population in the Ukraine, page 26.

369 The new period of growth of the Ukrainian cities, however, is limited to the Central Ukrainian industrial areas and the Donets Basin. The West Ukrainian cities are unsuitable for industrialization on account of the proximity of the border and the lack of larger power sources. Besides, traffic communications are extremely inadequate. These cities even decreased in population, just like the seaports, where today commerce and export
369 support fewer people than before the First World
162 War. During the first Five Year Plan the urban

369
162 population in the right-bank section of Soviet Ukraine decreased by 4.2%, whereas in the left-bank section it increased by 44%, in the Donets region alone by 93.5%. (110) Kiyev which was

110. Kubiyovich: Distribution of the Population in the Ukraine, page 32.

the quiet city of scholars and monasteries before the First World War shows 846,000 inhabitants according to the census of 1939; Khar'kov, the industrial and barracks city with its over-sized ostentatious buildings and skyscrapers shows 833,000; Odessa, where before the First World War 620,000 people lived and in 1923 324,000, houses 604,000 people in 1939. This seaport which was built by Catherine II suffered most in the famine of 1920.

According to the census of January 17, 1939 the entire population of Soviet Ukraine amounted to 30,960,221 souls, of whom about 19,764,000 lived in villages and about 11,195,000 in towns. In the census of 1926 the proportion of the urban population was 16.5%, whereas in 1939 it was said to be about 36%. According to these figures, Soviet Ukraine has, in the space of 13 years, changed from an agricultural country to a decidedly industrial country. Such a revolutionary process taking place within such a brief period, should be considered as out of the question, for similar developments in /167/ the central and western European countries took many decades under more favorable conditions. In order to be convinced of this analogy between Soviet Ukrainian urban development with that of Central Europe, one would have to be more familiar with the basic principles of Muscovite statisticians. For example, one might find an explanation for such an inorganic growth of the urban population in the fact that all settlements of over 2000 inhabitants

369 were counted as towns, whereas in former times
•162 even the huge peasant villages of 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants were placed in the category of villages.

The result of the new census becomes particularly interesting if one brings in for comparison the Statistique de la population de l'Oukraine contemporaine published in 1929 by the statistical office of the Soviet Ukraine in Khar'kov in both Ukrainian and French. In this publication the population figure on January 1, 1929 is given as 30,363,547. According to that, the population of Soviet Ukraine increased from January 1, 1929 to January 17, 1939 by only 596,674 souls. From the beginning of the Five Year Plan period, however, the normal annual increase amounted to 600,000 souls, according to the birth surplus of 20 per thousand; this would be 6 millions in 10 years. Thus the population decreased by about 5.4 million souls from 1929 to 1939. In an evaluation of these results we must keep in mind the fact that since 1936 abortions have been punishable by 10 years imprisonment, and that a large immigration of Russian and Far Eastern elements has taken place, which was particularly promoted by Moscow.

162 No less serious than these factors is the
167 decrease of village population since 1926 by 4.41 million souls. Even if the largest part of these 4.41 million village inhabitants should be counted city dwellers, the decrease thus being only apparent, what has happened to the increase of the peasant population? The census of 1939 reveals the silent tragedy of the "dead frontier", the strip of land about 50 kilometers wide /168/ at the former Rumanian and Polish boundary, which had to be cleared of Ukrainian inhabitants. It betrays the famine from 1931 to 1933, the exiles
167 to the frosty North and the dislodgments. On this point the Komsomolets Ukrayiny of May 21 and 22, 1939 wrote that the Ukrainians were being

167 sent as farmers to the Far East and to Kazakstan, and as laborers to the construction of the railway lines Donets Basin-Moscow and Akmolinsk-Kartaly. The railway Akmolinsk-Kartaly crossed the desert of Kazakstan in an 806 kilometer stretch. The Visti of June 3, 1939 complete this picture when they write: "The Soviet Ukraine annually furnishes the newly-arisen industrial centers in the other Soviet Republics with hundreds of thousands of laborers. At Magnitogorsk, Kutsbas, in the Far East and on the Turkish Railway there are thousands of construction workers who come from all different parts of the Ukraine."

369 This policy of splitting up the Ukrainian people must in the long run have all the more fateful consequences since the cities in the Ukraine are primarily in foreign hands. "The Ukrainian people remained peasants and villagers; they left their cities in the hands of foreigners, Russians, Jews, Germans, Poles." This was the complaint even before the First World War of the Ukrainian geographer Rudnitskyj: (111) The Ukrain-

111. Rudnitskyj: ibid., page 162.

ian peasant son did not want to go to the city where people spoke in foreign tongues. Village tranquility and quiet romanticism he recaptured only in the country. And thus the Ukrainian peasant youth wandered by the hundreds of thousands to the Kuban, the Volga, to Siberia and yonder to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in order to colonize new land there, while foreigners took possession of the Ukrainian cities. The result was
162 369 that from 1926 to 1931 in the cities of all Ukrainian provinces there were 38.8 Ukrainians per 100 inhabitants, 28.1 Russians, 21.6 Jews, 6.9 Poles, 0.8 Germans and 3.8 of other nationalities. (112)

112. Kubiyovich: Georgraphy of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 307 and 308.

11: Obermaier--181 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

In 1926 there were 42.1% Ukrainians in Kiyev, 38.3% in Khar'kov, 17.4% in Odessa, /Facing page 168/ /Map XII: Balance of Trade in the Soviet Ukraine. The diagrams on this page permit a comparison of import and export during the periods before and after the First World War. Note the decrease of exports in agricultural products and the increase of industrial exports/ /Captions:/

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Diagram of
Foreign Trade of the Soviet Union in
1909/11, 1913 and 1934
(in million rubles)

1.
Export, of this trade with Russia
/In circle marked 795:/
Grain 222
Metal and metal goods 90
Products of animal husbandry 56
Other produces 28
Other agricultural products 399

2.
Import
/In circle marked 472:/
Metals and machines 34.5
Naphtha products 33.5
Groceries 33
Leather & leather goods 31
Fish 29
Wood products 17
Other products 17
Other finished products 217

3. Export
/In circle marked 744:/
Grain 235
Metals & crude metals 116
Products of animal husbandry 53
Coal 50
Other products 25
Sugar 265

4. Import
/In circle marked 331:/
Wood products 37
Naphtha products 13
Metal goods
Other products 74
Other finished goods 197

5. Export
/In circle marked 720:/
Sugar 160
Coal 140
Grain 50
Ores 10
Metals and machines 360

11: Obermaier--182 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

439 6. Import
/In circle marked 380:/
Naphtha 110
Wood products 70
Fish 20
Products of animal husbandry 5
Other finished products 180

7. Export of various goods from the Soviet Ukraine in 1913, 1928, 1932 and 1934 (in million tons).

8. Coal

9. Ores

10. Iron & steel

11. Grain

12. Sugar

13. Wood

14. Naphtha & naphtha products

15. Various finished products

000/Also facing page 168/ /Where tractors are worn out harrowing is now done with horses/ /Facing page 169/ 7/At planting time the seed must be got into the ground within a few days. The tractor is particularly adapted to the cultivation of large areas/8/169/ 35.9% in Dnepropetrovsk, 16.2% in Lwow (1931), 28.9% in Stalin, 29.9% in Krasnodar (chief city of the Kuban region), and 17.8% in Chernovtsy.

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563 The Jews immediately seized what the Ukrainians had passed by. During the wars with the Turks Catherine II had opened to them the south Ukrainian gubernyas of Taurien, Kherson and Katerinoslav, the present-day Dnepropetrovsk. In 1835 the right of settlement of the Jews was extended to the entire right-bank section of the Ukraine with the exception of the city of Kiyev. The rest of Russia was almost completely free of Jews until 1917. From that time on all of Russia was open to them, and immediately the emigration

1/ [For plates, cf. pp. 224-226, category IIC-Analyst]

563 of Jews who had been crowded together in the Ukraine began into the interior of Russia. The process of urbanization of the Jewish population was in full swing even before the First World War. Already by the year 1897 77.4% of the 1.2 million Jews in Russian Ukraine lived in cities, where they made up 22.7% of the population. (113)

113. Seraphim: The Jewry in East European Area, page 322.

Meanwhile the urbanization continued. The proportion of Jews in the total urban population of the district of Kiyev came to 28% in 1926, in the Odessa district it was 31%, in Dniepropetrovsk 32%, in Podolia 54.7%, in the highly industrial Donets region only 9.1%. (114)

114. Seraphim: The Jewry in East European Area, page 333.

000 Even though the Jews controlled almost the entire wholesale and retail trade in the Ukraine before the First World War, and were extremely influential in banking, this was not true of the apparatus of government. Gone today are the traders who realized fat profits on the 4000 Ukrainian fairs, who bought from wholesale dealers and wandered through the country as barterers; private trade has been shattered and the banks are state-controlled, but the influence of the Jews is greater than ever. As early as 1926 they had established themselves in government positions far beyond those that were open to them, and ruled over the Ukrainian and Russian people. In the municipal Soviets they had 20.1% of all positions, in the trade unions 38.1%; in /170/ the judiciary they had 18.9%, in finance administration 19.4%, in the cooperatives 26.8%, in the credit system 35.1% and in public affairs even 44.2% of all

181 The innermost feelings of the Ukrainians in the days of their liberation is described by a German war correspondent a few weeks after the Bolsheviks were driven out of Kiyev, in the following words of a Ukrainian physician in Kiyev: "You Germans must be very patient with us! You must help us as though we were schoolchildren to whom one must teach the most elementary aspects of life step by step! You must give us strength once more to believe in humanity! For we are not ourselves. We are pitiful, down-trodden, homeless creatures, human beings deprived of all that was sacred, who night and day have lived in the fear of being deported, exiled or shot because of our very existence." (135)

135. "Kiew - der Blutegel der Ukraine," Kiyev, the leech of the Ukraine, by the war correspondent, Erwin Kirchhof.

080 What, therefore, is to become of this country where intelligent men voice such shattering words? Now that the Bolsheviks have been driven out, there will first of all have to be a thorough stock-taking of the Ukrainian people to determine the presence of living cells capable of growth and development, in order that we may then, with careful consideration, be able to build, stone by stone, a new and better future. Too much in the way of diversified wealth and talent in the Ukraine has been destroyed or stunted by Muscovite imperialists, beginning with Peter the Great down to Stalin, the strangler, to make possible the achievement of such a tremendous task of reconstruction within a few years.

/Map in pocket of book/

The Peoples of the Ukraine

523 162 The distribution in 1939 of peoples and ethnic

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groups living in Ukrainian territory. For each race there are two, sometimes even three degrees of density shown: a highly concentrated area of 90 percent (however without regard to Jews who in some areas constitute 10 percent and more of the population), then a majority area of 90 percent, and finally an area where no group has the absolute majority and where the relative majority is shown. The Ukraine is most compactly settled in the center as well as toward the west, north and south, whereas in the east it is loosely settled. Here a motley aspect of ethnic intermingling appeared; peoples live next to each other who racially, culturally and in matters of religion belong to the most diverse ethnic groups: Ukrainians and Great Russians, Central European Germans, Turko-Tatars, Mongolian peoples, as well as those small, heterogeneous mountain tribes of the Caucasus, that represent remnants of peoples in areas of regression.

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11: Obermaier J-3(no date) 1942
RD1 Ukraine RD1

P.211	P.212	P.213	P.214
P.207	P.208	P.209	P.210

Schematic diagram to
end map

P.206 (a)

11:Obermaier--207 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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/Key/

1. Ukrainians
   over 90 percent
   50-90 percent
   relative majority

2. Russians
   over 90 percent
   50-90 percent
   relative majority

8. Greeks
   50-90 percent
   relative majority

9. Hungarians
   50-90 percent
   relative majority

11:Obermaier--208 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

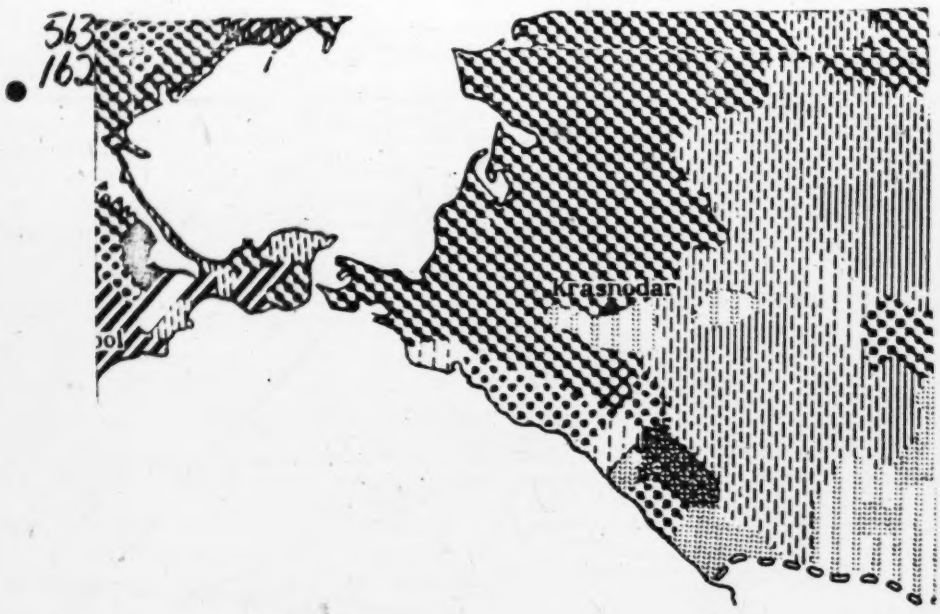
Rumanians
over 90 percent
50-90 percent
relative majority

Germans
over 90 percent
50-90 percent

Tatars
50-90 percent
relative majority

Kalmuchs
over 90 percent
50-90 percent

11:Obermaier--209 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1



Slovaks
over 90 percent
50-90 percent

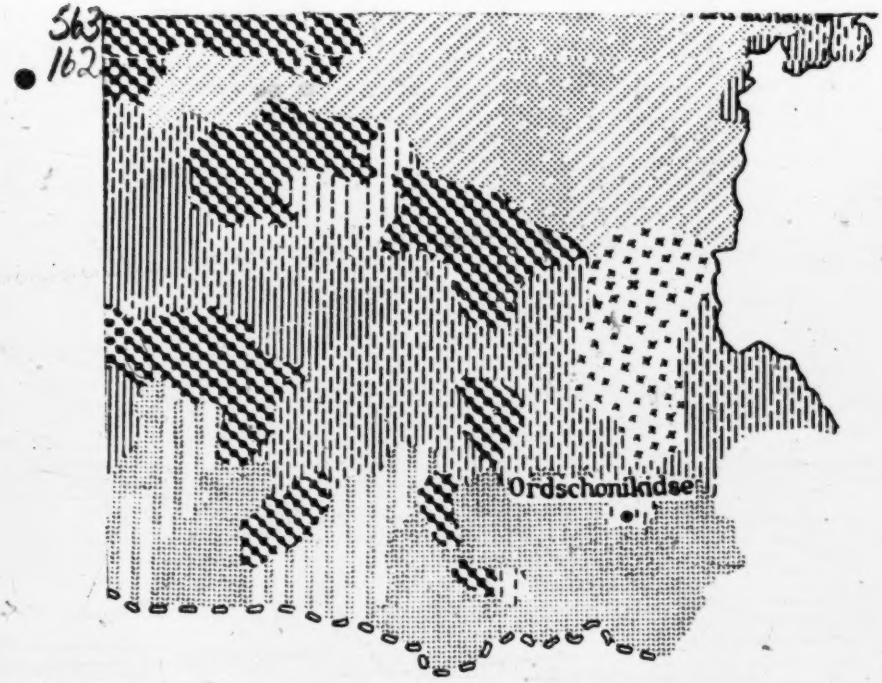
Ruthenians
over 90 percent
50-90 percent

Caucasian Mtn. tribes
over 90 percent
50-90 percent

Bulgarians
50-90 percent

Armenians
50-90 percent

11:Obermaier--210 J-3 (no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1



Poles
over 90 percent

50-90 percent

Nogai
50-90 percent

Kirgiz or Kazakh
50-90 percent

11:Obermaier--211 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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11:Obermaier--212 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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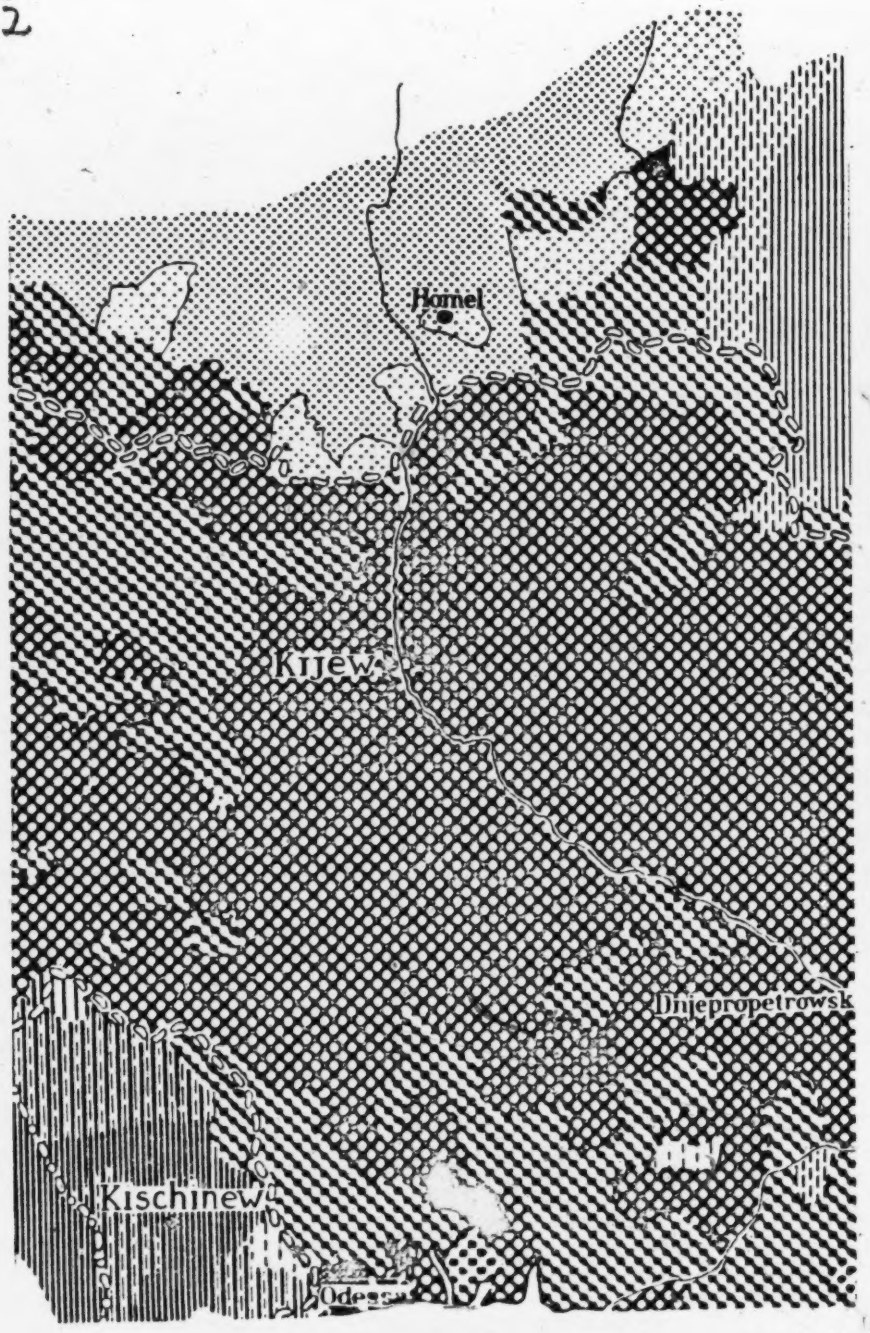

11:Obermaier--213 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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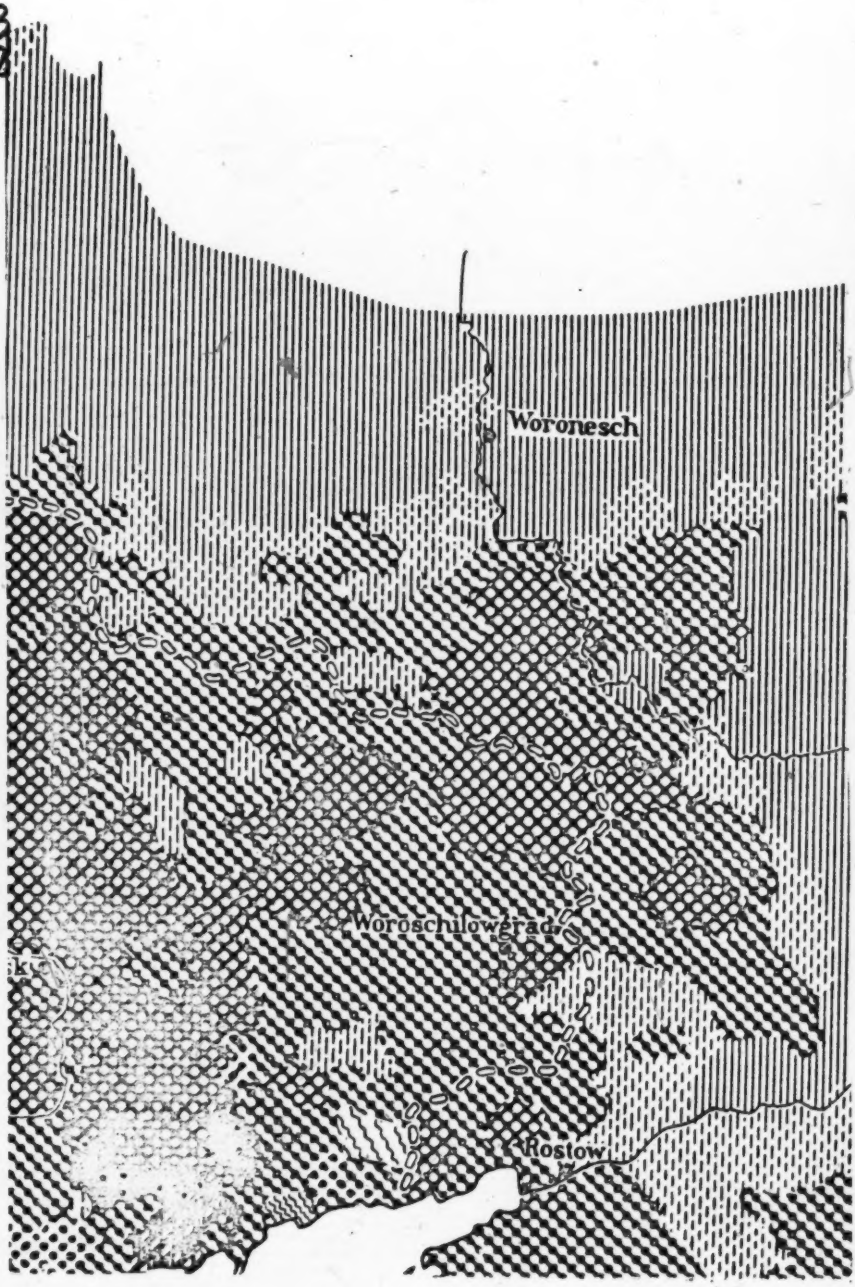

11:Obermaier--214 J-3(no date)1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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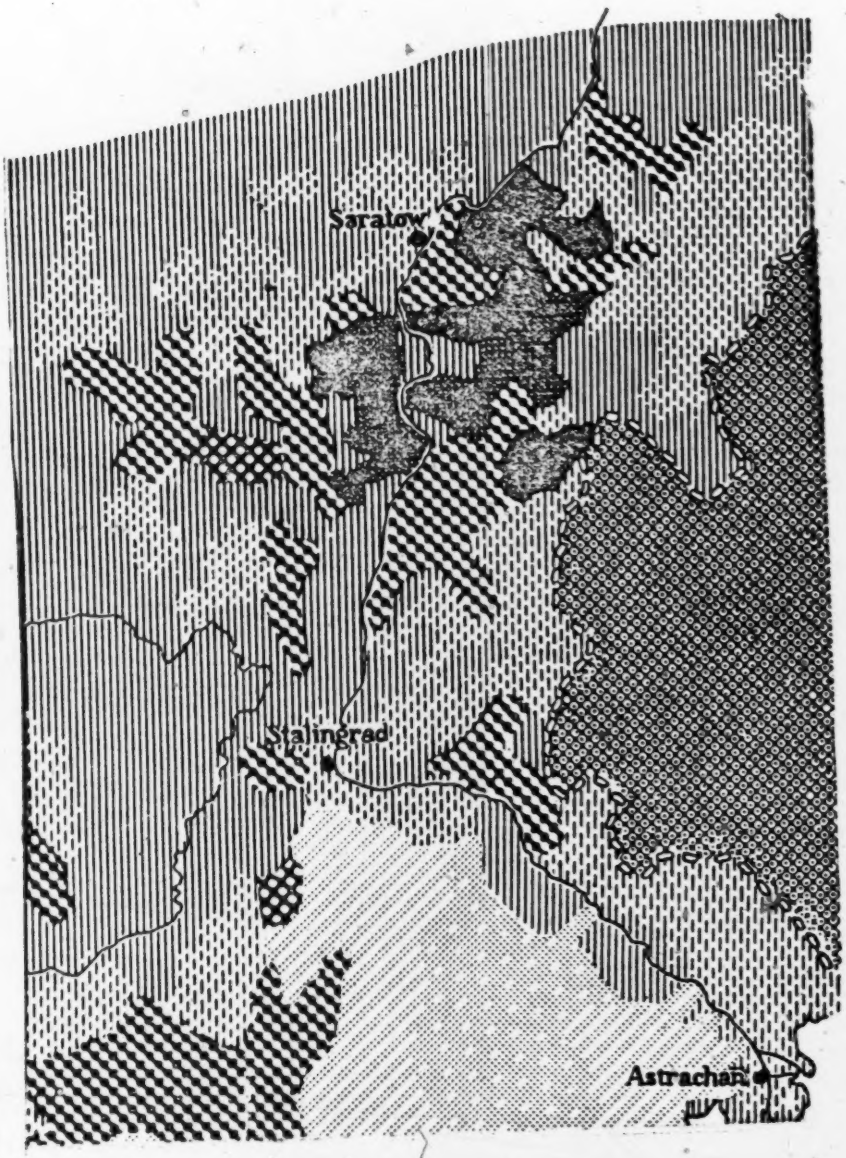

I INTRODUCTION

101 The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (the Ukraine) is one of the U.S.S.R.'s sixteen constituent Union Republics. Situated in the south-western corner of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine is bordered on the south by the Black and Azov Seas and the Crimea (part of Russia); its western border touches the frontiers of Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland as well as the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. Towards the north the Ukrainian S.S.R. verges on two other Soviet Republics: Byelorussia and Russia; and it is the Russian neighbourhood of the Don river which forms the Ukraine's eastern border.

101 135 In economic development and in population the Ukraine is second greatest of the Soviet Republics. It has a fertile soil, a mild humid climate, and is rich in deposits of coal, oil, iron, manganese and salts, as well as in building materials. It has four main rivers: the Dnieper (third largest in Europe), the Dniester, the Bug, and the Donets (a tributary of the Don), which are navigable and are also useful reservoirs of power.

433 162 Before 1941 the Ukraine contained more than one-fifth of the inhabitants of the entire Soviet Union. Its industry produced 54 per cent. of the coal, 60 per cent. of the pig iron, 48 per cent. of the steel, and 35 per cent. of the manganese ore turned out in the whole U.S.S.R.; it manufactured railway engines and cars, tractors, turbines, harvester combines, and mining and agricultural machinery for all parts of the Soviet Union. "It also produced artificial fertilizers, soda, glass and cement. The output of the sugar, meat-packing, flour-milling, distilling, and dairy industries reached great dimensions. Fishing was developed in the Black Sea and Azov Sea. The Dnieper Power Station, 361 the largest in Europe, was famous throughout the world. The cities of the Ukraine, both old and new, developed rapidly; during the past 25 years 77 new cities and 285 industrial settlements were built."[1]

241 Agriculture also was highly developed. In 1937-38 Ukrainian farms accounted for nearly one-fifth of the grain, one-sixth of the potatoes, and two-thirds of the sugar beet produced in the Soviet Union. The Ukraine also had a large proportion of the total Soviet Union livestock. Millions of head of cattle, pigs, sheep, and poultry were raised. Ukrainian agriculture was highly mechanized; before the war there were 90,000 tractors and 31,000 harvesting combines operating in the fields.

Area and Population

131 In January 1939 the Ukrainian Republic had an area of about 469,700 square kilometres including 8,000 square kilometres in its

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1 The Sixteen Soviet Republics, Soviet News, London, 1945.

TABLE I

Area and Population of the Ukrainian S.S.R., 1939-40

	Area (thousand square kilometres)	Population (millions)
Area Ukrainian S.S.R. January 1939	469.7	30.96
Territories added:		
Western Ukraine (added November 1939)	88.0	8.0
Part of Bessarabia	15.3	1.05
Northern Bukovina (both added June 1940)	6.0	0.5
	579.0	40.51
Territories transferred:		
Part of the Moldavian A.S.S.R. (together with part of Bessarabia, created the Moldavian S.S.R., August 1940)	3.9	0.31
Totals August 1940	575.1	40.20

Source : Territory and Population of the U.S.S.R., S. Sulkevich, Moscow, 1940.

In June 1945 the Transcarpathian Ukraine was ceded by Czechoslovakia to the Ukrainian S.S.R. This transfer added about 12,600 square kilometres area and a population of about 750,000. The details of the various cessions of territory are given below.

Soviet-Polish Frontiers

In the autumn of 1939, after the collapse of the Polish State and the occupation of Western Poland by German troops, the Soviet Government decided to take under its protection the life and property of the population of Eastern Poland, that is, Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, inhabited mainly by Ukrainians and Byelorussians. When they were seized by Poland in 1920, these territories were ethnographically and economically part of the Soviet Union. Their return to the Soviet Union increased the area and population of the Byelorussian S.S.R. by 108,000 square kilometres and 4.8 million inhabitants; and of the Ukraine, by 88,000 square kilometres and 8 million people.

In August 1945, a slight adjustment of frontiers took place between Poland and the Soviet Union. A treaty was signed which, in accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference in February 1945, established the Polish-Soviet boundary roughly along the Curzon Line, with some deviations in favour of Poland. As a result of this, Poland was given back a small strip of the territory which had been incorporated in the Soviet Union in 1939.

728 The progress in construction and rehabilitation which has taken place
178 since the incorporation of this region into the Ukraine was revealed at a meeting of the Soviet of Nationalities on October 16, 1946, when the representative of the Transcarpathian Ukraine summed up the achievements in 1946. Nearly 300 enterprises had been restored, and nine machine and tractor stations had been set up to assist the peasants in working
[212 the fields. Much had been done in 1946 to abolish illiteracy; there
811 J were opened over 100 schools, including 75 elementary, seven technical, 27 secondary, four music schools for children, and one school for surgeons' assistants and midwives.

433 At the end of December it was stated that 35 new factories had started functioning in the Transcarpathian Region in 1946[1]. Moreover, as compared with 1945 when there was not a single coal mine, 8 mines were working in 1946. There had also been definite progress in building up consumer goods industries. A clothing and a shoe factory had begun working in Vinogradov, and a knitted goods mill in Mukachevo. Some 200 light industries have been opened in various parts of the region.

Population of the Ukraine

162 The Ukraine is inhabited largely by Ukrainians, and also by Russians, Jews, and Poles. Most of the population is literate, and in 1939 there were many technical and vocational schools, as well as scientific research institutes and about 40,000 libraries.

At the census of January 17, 1939 the Ukrainian S.S.R. had 30,960,221 inhabitants; an increase of 6.6 per cent. as compared with December 1926. The greatest increase had occurred in the towns, largely as a result of the migration of country people to new industries. Thus from 1926 to 1939 the urban population more than doubled (5,373,553 to 11,195,620) while the number of rural inhabitants decreased by 16½ per cent. (23,669,381 to 19,764,601).

000 The same was true for the entire Soviet Union. From 147,027,915 in December 1926, its total population increased by 15.9 per cent. to 170,467,186 in January 1939, the urban population having grown from 26.3 million to 55.9 millions; and the rural population having fallen from 120.7 million to 114.5 million.

162 The principal cities of the Ukraine with their population on
[361 January 17, 1939, are Kiev, the capital (population, 846,293), Kharkov, capital of the Ukraine before 1934 (833,432), the part of Odessa on the Black Sea (604,223), Dniepropetrovsk on the Dnieper River (500,662), Stalino, industrial centre of the Donets Basin (462,395), and Nikolayev (167,108).

In January 1939 the urban population of the Ukraine was 36.2 per

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1 Soviet Monitor, London, December 29, 1946.

● 162 cent. of the total, as compared with 32.8 per cent. for the entire Soviet Union. Next to the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukraine has a higher percentage of urban population than any other Union Republic.

The German-Soviet War

726 On June 22, 1941, the German armies, supported by their satellites, including the Rumanians and the Hungarians, attacked the Soviet Union on a 1,500 mile front from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. Nearly six weeks later the Germans started their main thrust against Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; on September 21, after a fierce struggle, the Soviet troops evacuated the city. It was another two months before the Germans reached Kharkov and Rostov.

727 [725] For the second time in this century the Ukraine was subjected to occupation and devastation by the Germans. However, the Soviet policy of scorching the earth in retreat had aggravated normal military destruction; and in addition, the Ukrainians conducted heroic guerilla warfare against the enemy occupation forces. As a result, the Germans found the fruits of conquest "rather disappointing"[1] For example, in the Ukraine it was possible in the autumn of 1941 to carry out only a small fraction of the average sowing. In the western part of the Ukraine, very few industrial plants remained intact; the Nikolayev naval yards, the Dnieper dam and power station, and the metallurgical plants of the Dniepropetrovsk district were all either crippled or destroyed.

726 The German occupation of the Ukraine lasted nearly three and a half years. The Soviet victory at Stalingrad early in 1943 was the turning point of the war and the beginning of the big Soviet offensives.

In the winter campaign of 1943-44 the Soviet troops won important victories in the Ukraine west of the Dnieper, completed the liberation of the Kiev, Dniepropetrovsk, Zaporozhie and Zhitomir regions and almost the whole of the Rovno and Kirovograd regions, as well as of a number of districts in other areas.[2] In April and May 1944 they liberated Odessa, and in August, Western Ukraine. The liberation of the whole Ukraine was completed by November 1944.

727 The years of hard fighting took a very heavy toll all along the western front of the Soviet Union. The Ukrainian S.S.R. sustained enormous losses.

War Losses of Population

At the Kiev trial of German war criminals in January 1946 it was disclosed that more than four million Soviet citizens had been murdered

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1 The Russian Campaigns of 1941-43, W.E.D.Allen and Paul Muratoff, Penguin Books, London, 1944.

2 Soviet War News, London, February 24, 1944.

727 by the German invaders in the Ukraine, and more than two million had been abducted to slavery in Germany. Of these so deported, a considerable number perished in captivity[1].

The figure of four million Soviet citizens murdered in the Ukraine does not clearly indicate whether all of them were Ukrainians or whether a certain percentage came from other parts of the Soviet Union. No figures have been revealed showing the number of the Ukrainians killed at the front against the German armies and their satellites. However, a comparison of the pre-war and present electorate figures for the Ukraine gives some indication of the decrease, at least of the adult population. On December 12, 1937, the Ukrainian electorate was about 17,540,000; in 1939 this number was increased by the addition of Western Ukraine, which on March 24, 1940, had more than five million voters. But nearly seven years later, in the elections of February 1947, despite the fact that part of Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and the Transcarpathian Ukraine also had been added, the total electorate in the Ukrainian S.S.R. was only 21,545,000.

Damages to Industry and Agriculture

727 The damage which the Germans inflicted on the industry and farming 433 of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics was tremendous, and far exceeded any comparable destruction in Western Europe.

[362] In the Ukraine the Germans destroyed or burned down 714 towns and more than 28,000 hamlets and villages, destroyed more than two million buildings and 540,000 outbuildings, and rendered about 10 million persons homeless (one-fourth of the Ukrainian population)[2].

Agriculture, animal husbandry, and industry were devastated. The coal mines were flooded. Over 16,150 industrial enterprises employing more than two million workers were stripped of machinery and the buildings heavily damaged or destroyed. The Germans wrecked or took away 127,800 electric motors and 81,600 metal-cutting lathes, destroyed railway lines and stations, and post and telegraph offices[2].

727 433 241 Tremendous damage was done to Ukrainian agriculture. The Germans ruined and plundered collective farms, state farms and machine and tractor stations.

Millions of hectares of planned fields were destroyed and over 56,000 tractors wrecked. Nearly 1,900,000 agricultural machines and 30,000 automobiles and other motor vehicles were destroyed or taken to Germany[3].

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1 Soviet News, London, June 29, 1946.

2 Soviet Monitor, London, February 8, 1947.

3 Letter to UNRRA from Ukrainian Government Department of UNRRA Supplies, April 6, 1946.

24: Cech and Mellon S-2 (no date) 1944 Ukrainians-
Ruthenians

Shepherds blow huge horns to round up their sheep by night

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464
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In the narrow valleys and on their slopes are cottages and straggling villages where the Ruthenian uplanders live. Nearly all the huts are made of wood and are flanked by gardens with patches of sunflowers. In the higher altitudes the land consists mainly of meadows, and such meagre fields as there are yield scanty crops of oats, potatoes or hemp—not sufficient to live on. No wonder that during the summer months it is chiefly women and children who can be found at home; the menfolk either fell trees in the forest or earn their living as seasonal labourers in the towns and villages of the more prosperous South.

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These lonely mountains and forests breed a people with a distinct character of their own. Living as they do in seclusion, they not only differ from their Slovak neighbours but show distinct regional differences

among themselves. They can be divided into three well-defined tribes —the Lemki on the Slovak border, the Boiki in the centre, and the Huculs in the eastern tip of Ruthenia.

The most interesting tribe are the Huculs. They have preserved their tribal characteristics better than their kinsmen. Their standard of education is higher, and they are more conscious and proud of their national individuality. When the Hungarians invaded Ruthenia after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the Huculs offered the stiffest resistance, and during the war they were the core of the partisan force fighting against the totalitarian powers. Like the other Ruthenian mountaineers, the Huculs are largely wood-cutters and raftsmen. But they are distinguished by their skill as carpenters and wood-carvers. This is clearly reflected in their mode of life. Their wooden cottages are neatly built and furnished and impress the visitor by their scrupulous cleanliness. Their tribal individuality and artistic skill find expression in the numerous carvings with which they like to decorate their unpainted houses.

The neighbouring Boiki have also, to some extent, preserved their pride in racial individuality, and their mode of life, though more primitive, has some interesting features. They are kind-hearted, sincere and hospitable, in spite of their poverty. Though less proud than the Huculs, they fly into a temper when crossed, and impulsive outspokenness is one of their traits. They live in cottages and huts which they like to paint in blue and brown, and this makes their exterior rather attractive. But the interior does not always live up to the façade. The better-off Boiki manage to live in fairly decent cottages with two or more rooms, but the huts of the poor often consist of one room only—a dark room with no chimney, one small window, and some roughly made furniture. Some have no bedsteads in the true sense of the word; along the whole wall of the room one may find a long "plank-bed" where the grown-ups sleep at the one end and the children at the other. When the children grow up they sleep on separate beds of the same kind. Unlike the Hucul houses, the Boiki huts have no wooden floors. The domestic animals often share the same room with their masters in winter, sleeping on the bare earth. For many families such a room is therefore a kitchen, living room, bedroom, hall and stable in one.

Much the same applies to the Lemki tribe who live partly on Slovak territory. They are the poorest Ruthenian tribe and their racial character has undergone a certain deterioration. Their standard of life is often appalling, the hygiene leaves much to be desired, and they have the largest number of illiterates, though some improvement has taken place under the Republic.

Mountainous Ruthenia is a country of traditional costumes. The

24: Cech and Mellon S-2 (no date) 1944 Ukrainians-Ruthenians

361 is a wide boulevard bordered with beautiful flowers. Across the river,
341 to the left from a bridge, is a colourful little church in Russian style—a miniature replica of a Moscow *cerkev*—a piece of the Orient in a western setting. It is a delightful building coloured in dull red and white, and has a burnished cupola at the top which reflects the sun in a dazzling blaze. The interesting ikons in the interior match the fairy-tale beauty of its exterior. What a lively contrast to the dignified, twin-spired Greek Catholic cathedral and the surrounding ecclesiastical buildings on the opposite side of the river.

162 There are at least four religions in Užhorod, as well as in other
563 Ruthenian towns, and five languages are spoken there—Ruthenian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Yiddish.

While Ruthenia has no mineral wealth comparable to that of
135 Slovakia, it supplies the entire Republic with salt. In the eastern tip
317 of the country, right on the Rumanian frontier, there are huge deposits of mineral salt in the neighbourhood of Siatinské Doly. Although only two mines are now being worked, the annual output amounts to about 120,000 tons of salt. The huge vaulted caves of these mines afford an imposing view from a gallery which rises at a considerable height above the bottom where the miners quarry large blocks of rock-salt, cut them into small blocks, and have them hoisted through the shaft to the surface. The mineral salt which is crushed in a salt-mill is only slightly impure and requires little cleaning.

317 Salt represents the mineral wealth of Carpathian Ruthenia. But it
263 is a commodity which the poor Ruthenian peasants and wood-cutters cannot afford. In order to spice their simple and meagre food the countryfolk journey a day or two to a pool of salt-water to fill a barrel with the liquid salt.

178 To appreciate the degree of progress Carpathian Ruthenia made
511 during the twenty years of its association with Czechoslovakia, one has
185 to bear in mind the condition of this forgotten country when it first appeared on the map as a political unit. The dire poverty, the low standard of education among the majority of the population, lack of cultural amenities, infectious diseases due to abominable sanitary conditions, inadequate communications, economic and political exploitation—all these factors made the life of the Ruthenians under the Carpathian mountains rather desolate.

President Masaryk once said that thirty years of peaceful, reasonable and energetic development would be needed to make the Czechoslovak State secure and happy. Carpathian Ruthenia certainly needed thirty, if not more, years of peaceful, reasonable and energetic development to emerge from her condition of poverty and primitiveness.

744 One of the worst evils was the appalling sanitary conditions in
164 Ruthenia. The rate of infant mortality was among the highest in

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
UKRAINE RD1

bute a large army of colonists to the Slav ethnical expansion towards the East at the end of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century. To describe the Ukrainians as junior partners in the Russian colonization of Eurasia would hardly do full justice to the role which they played. Thus among the eight 'Governments' of European Russia which between 1897 and 1911 supplied the highest number of settlers for Russian Asia four were predominantly Ukrainian, Poltava, Chernigov, Kiev and Kharkov – two were Byelorussian – Mogilev and Vitebsk, and only two Great Russian – Kursk and Voronezh.

The share of the Ukrainians in the Eurasiatic colonization makes any complete separation of Ukrainians and Russians, such as the extreme Ukrainian nationalists advocate, difficult if not impossible. Almost everywhere throughout the Soviet Empire there are Ukrainians living as workers, peasants and technical specialists. According to incomplete figures referring to the early thirties 1,049,000 Ukrainians then lived in Kazakhstan, 966,000 in Western Siberia, 447,000 in the Lower Volga region and roughly 400,000 in the Far East.[1] Smaller groups of Ukrainians lived in the Middle Volga region (215,000), in the Ural region (137,000) and in the western regions of the R.S.F.S.R. (186,000). This last-mentioned group of Ukrainians, particularly those of the province of Bryansk, constitute a particularly interesting species. They speak a strange Russian-Byelorussian-Ukrainian mixed language but have retained some sort of romantic attachment to the Ukraine on account of the alleged relationship of their forefathers with the Ukrainian Cossacks.[a]

The largest Ukrainian group outside the Ukraine, over 3,500,000 strong, inhabits the North Caucasus region where the Ukrainians in certain areas form up to 60 per cent of the total population. Ukrainian nationalists have therefore demanded that the borders of the Ukrainian Republic should be shifted towards the east to include in particular the fertile Kuban area.

The Ukrainian diaspora, particularly in the R.S.F.S.R., was steadily reinforced throughout the inter-war period. Between the 1926 and the 1939 census a considerable number of Ukrainians left the Ukraine to settle in the new industrial centres of Russia proper, thus increasing the Russian-Ukrainian intermixture. Through this migration such typical national Ukrainian provinces as Poltava and Vinnitsa lost within twelve years 15 and 7 per cent, respectively, of their total population.

RUSSIAN DIASPORA IN THE UKRAINE

From the point of view of future Ukrainian-Russian relations the existence of the Russian ethnical element in the Ukraine is no less important than the numerous Ukrainian diaspora in the R.S.F.S.R. and in the Central Asiatic Soviet Republics.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Ukraine RD1

THE UKRAINE

UK. 162 369

According to the 1926 census there were but 8 per cent Great Russians in the Ukraine, but these were mostly town-dwellers and proletarian elements and thus were able to play a considerable part in the political history of the Ukrainian S.S.R. since, according to Bolshevik principles, city workers necessarily lead the peasants, and the towns the countryside.

The towns of the Ukraine during the inter-war period had been not only bi-national Russian-Ukrainian but tri-national Russian-Ukrainian-Jewish, with the Jews frequently gravitating culturally to the Russian side. In Kiev, the largest Ukrainian city, the Ukrainians were originally the smallest ethnical group of the three. The 1926 census showed that Kiev's population consisted of 25·4 per cent Ukrainians, 36·2 per cent Russians, 32·1 per cent Jews and 3 per cent Poles. After 1926 the balance improved in favour of the Ukrainians but basically Kiev remained a Ukrainian-Russian-Jewish city. Kharkov, almost equal in size to Kiev, had in 1933 48 per cent Ukrainian inhabitants, whilst there were 30·3 per cent Russians and 17·7 per cent Jews. Of all the big cities of the Ukraine, Odessa, the capital of 'New Russia' has always been the least Ukrainian. Even including Odessa's country district the Ukrainians accounted for only 41 per cent of the total population against 23 per cent Russians and 20 per cent Jews. In the city of Odessa there were 17·5 per cent Ukrainians against 38·6 per cent Russians and 36·4 per cent Jews. Dniepropetrovsk, the fourth largest city of the Ukraine, in 1933 comprised 36 per cent Ukrainians, 31·5 per cent Russians and 26·6 per cent Jews.

The drastic reduction in the number of Jews through Hitlerite massacres and evacuation during the war improved the position of the Ukrainians in the cities of the Western and Central Ukraine, but in the industrial regions of the Eastern Ukraine the Ukrainians cannot keep pace with the tempo of urbanization and the needs of manpower. The two eastern border provinces of the Ukraine, Voroshilovgrad and Stalino, making up the Donets Basin, are inhabited by an international working-class, in particular by a strong Russian element, and are steadily growing in importance in relation to the Ukraine as a whole. The population of the Stalino Province rose by 91 per cent between 1926 and 1939 and that of the Voroshilovgrad Province by 37 per cent during the same period. The growth of the Stalino Province can be even better assessed by comparing the numbers of inhabitants of its three largest towns in 1926 and 1939. Stalino, the provincial centre rose from 174,000 to 462,000, Makeyevka from 79,421 to 240,000, Mariupol from 64,000 to 222,000.

STALINIST CENTRALISM VERSUS UKRAINIAN AUTONOMY

S.U. 691 186 UK. 186 642

The fact that Russians and Ukrainians are from the historical, geographical and ethnical point of view objectively inseparable calls for a certain

[Bulgarians] UKRAINE RD1
THE UKRAINE
[Albanians]
[Poles]

National Districts were a different matter. The most important of these Bulgarian National Districts received the name of Vasil Kolarov, a Bulgarian communist leader, who, after the abortive Bulgarian communist *coup d'état* of 1923, lived as an exile in the Soviet Union. The creation of the 'Kolarov District' in the Dniepropetrovsk Province with the 'capital' Kolarovka was thus a deliberate gesture to stimulate the illegal Communist Party in Bulgaria and to show its supporters that a little Soviet Bulgaria was alive inside the U.S.S.R. even if Bulgarian reaction frustrated the establishment of a Soviet Republic in the real Bulgaria for the time being.

During the German occupation of the Ukraine many Russian Bulgars – they numbered 114,000 in 1939 – were repatriated to Bulgaria. After the end of the war at least a part of these evacuees were brought back to the Soviet Union, but there is no evidence of a survival of the Bulgarian National Districts.

3. ALBANIANS. There has been definite news that the 3,000 Albanians of the Soviet Ukraine have survived the war and have maintained their three Village Soviets in the Azov District of the Melitopol Province. The best evidence that this small minority remained in favour with the authorities was the fact that a fairly comprehensive study of their customs was published after the Second World War.[25] Also at least some of the Czech Village Soviets and collective farms of the Ukraine seem to have remained and their example was used as propaganda for collectivized agriculture in Czechoslovakia proper.

THE 'POLISH POLICY' OF THE UKRAINE

The most important nationality problem for the pre-war Ukraine was the Polish problem, just as the Ukrainian problem was the most serious nationality problem of pre-war Poland.

However unfavourable the drawing of the Soviet-Polish frontiers of 1921 had been from the Ukrainian point of view, 782,334 Poles lived, according to the 1926 census, within the borders of the U.S.S.R., of whom 476,435 were in the Ukraine itself, 97,948 in Byelorussia, and 197,827 dispersed over the R.S.F.S.R. Polish statisticians, and apparently also some Polish communists in Russia, have never accepted this figure, and have asserted that the total number of Poles amounted to 1,500,000.[26]

During the inter-war period Soviet policy considered the 'Soviet Poles' primarily as a potential revolutionary vanguard. The official Soviet view was that however small the Polish minority in the Ukraine, it was its duty to develop a proletarian Polish culture within the U.S.S.R. which could influence the Poles on the other side of the border. This idea was rejected by some prominent Polish communists who thought that the

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a long, warm autumn, provides excellent conditions for the development of agriculture. Average January temperatures vary from 27° F in the southwest to 14° F in the east, and July averages from 68° F in the north to 73° F in the south. The northern section of the Ukraine receives adequate rainfall (about 20 inches a year), but the south is much drier, having an average yearly rainfall of 9 inches. Most of the precipitation occurs in the first half of the year. During the summer, frequent violent rainstorms occur in the eastern sections.

The greater portion of the Ukraine lies in the wooded steppe and steppe zones, where black earth prevails. In the northern section, which lies in the forested zone, grassy marshes occur in abundance. In the wooded steppe zone the forest reserves have largely been depleted. Broad-leaved types, such as oak, maple, ash, and elm, occur only along the rivers and extend in green ribbons through gullies and ravines up to the watersheds. Characteristic local vegetation types are the dense growths of alder, willow, and poplar which border the inundated banks of the rivers and the many ox-bows and lakes which remain after the spring floods. The steppes on the watersheds have long been converted into rich wheat fields, a typical feature of the Ukrainian landscape.

Among the mineral resources which abound in the Ukrainian SSR, the primary raw materials for heavy metallurgy are most important. Scarcely anywhere else in the USSR are coal, iron, and manganese found within such proximity of each other as in the eastern Ukraine. The Donets Basin, or Donbas, with reserves of more than 90 billion tons, is the principal coal producer of the USSR. The Krivoy Rog iron mines produce iron ore of a high quality and metal content. Between these two sites are the rich manganese deposits in the area of Nikopol'. In the Donbas are extensive salt and mercury deposits. Petroleum fields lie in the foothills of the Carpathians, where salt, potash, and natural gas are also found. Another petroleum site is in the area of Romny (Sumy Oblast). The northern, marshy section of the Ukraine—Poles'ye—abounds in peat. Other minerals include polymetallic ores (Donets Basin), phosphorites, kaolin, limestone, marl, gypsum, and so forth.

The Ukraine is the most densely inhabited union republic of the USSR. Its 40 million inhabitants represent about one fifth of the total population of the USSR. The average population density is 180 per square mile; however, there is considerable variation throughout the region. The greatest concentration exists in the western Ukraine, along the foot of the Carpathians, where the density reaches 340 to 390 per square

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mile. The Donbas shows a density of 260 to 390 per square mile, while the concentration of the population in certain industrial areas goes as high as 525 per square mile. In sharp contrast to these densely settled sections, the northern wooded area of the Poles'ye supports only 50 to 75 persons per square mile, and even less in the marshy portions. The southern steppes also show a density of only 95 to 130 per square mile.

Large villages form the most typical settlement pattern in the Ukraine. Rural population centers of as many as 15,000 or more inhabitants stretch along the river valleys or along dry ravines, where artificial ponds provide the water supply. In many instances villages merge into each other and form a continuous settlement many miles long. Surrounded by orchards and with white-washed, thatched mud huts scattered about in disorderly fashion, they often present a singularly charming appearance.

About one third of the population lives in urban centers. The Ukrainian SSR counts fifteen cities of over 100,000 inhabitants and more than forty cities with a population of over 50,000. The large centers lie mainly in the Donets Basin, along the Dnieper and the shores of the Black Sea, as well as in the western Ukraine.

The national composition of the population of the Ukraine is quite homogeneous. The Ukrainians constitute about 80 percent of the total. Among the more important minorities are the Russians, who live principally in the Donbas and in the northern section, the Belorussians in the northwest, Poles in the west, and Bulgarians in the southwest. Before the Second World War, Jews formed a considerable percentage of the urban population, especially in the right-bank towns and in the western Ukraine. A considerable number of Volga Tatars are also found in the Donets Basin.

The Ukrainians constitute the second most important national group in the USSR. Their language, their culture and their mode of life are closely related to those of the Russians. Long split among several powers, the Ukrainians were as late as the end of the eighteenth century under the rule of the Russians (left-bank Ukraine), of the Poles (right-bank Ukraine), and of the Turks (southern steppes). Shortly thereafter the major portion of the Ukrainian people came under Russian rule, but many still remained in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in Rumania. In 1917 the Ukrainian SSR was created, but it was not until the final annexations of territory from Poland (1939), Rumania (1940),